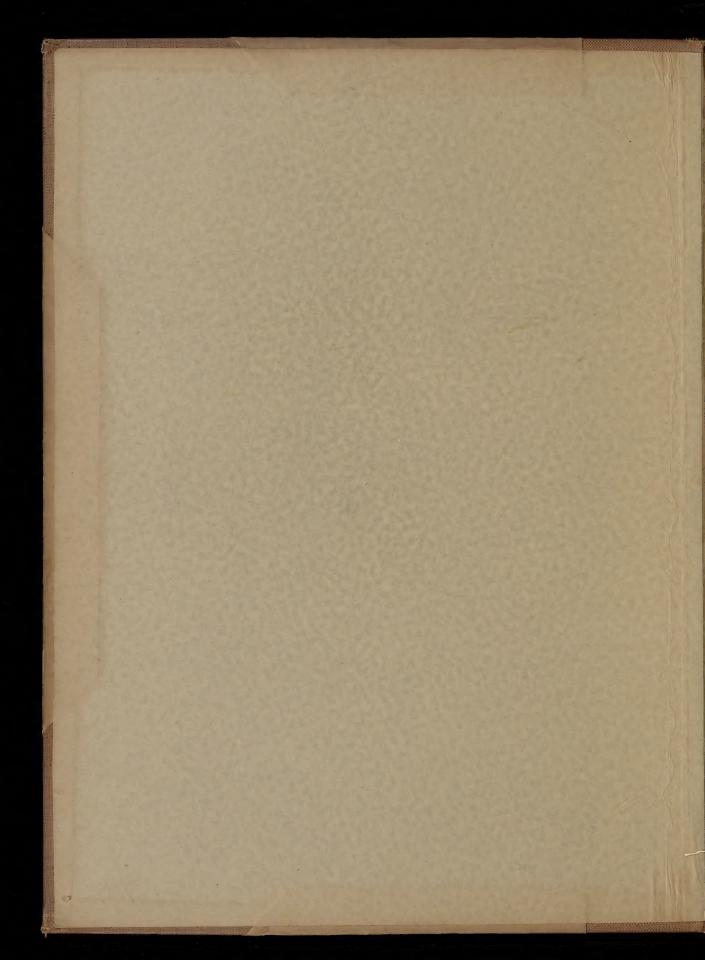
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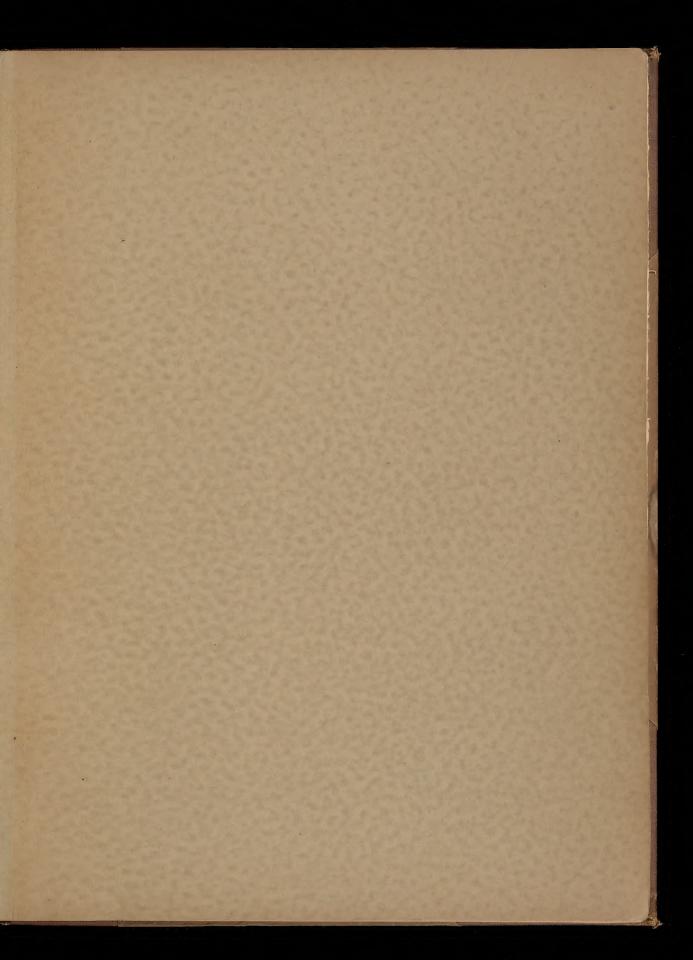
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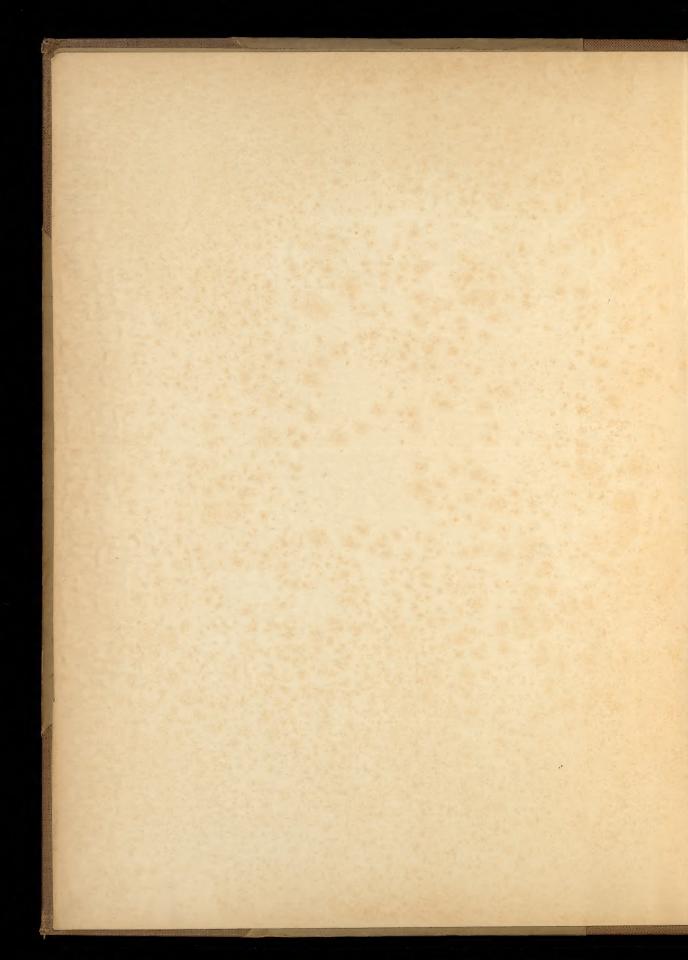
EL 'AMARNEH

F. G. NEWTON MEMORIAL VOLUME

EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY

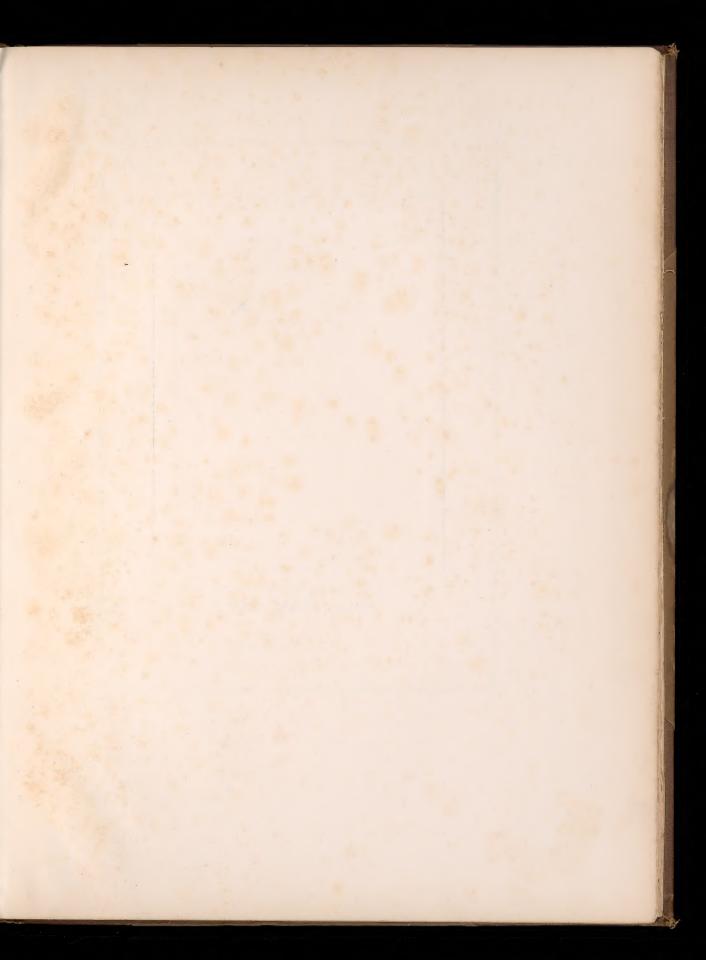






F. G. NEWTON MEMORIAL VOLUME THE MURAL PAINTING OF EL-'AMARNEH







FRANCIS GIESLER NEWTON

THE MURAL PAINTING OF EL-AMARNEH

EDITED BY

PLATE P (PROVISPIECE)

FRANCIS GIESLER NEWTON

(Photograph by Swaine)

CONTRIBUTIONS

BY

N. DE GARIS DAVIES

H. FRANKFORT

S. R. K. GLANVILLE

T. WHITTEMORE

WITH PLATES

IN COLOUR

RV

E TATE

FRANCIS G. NEWTON

NINA DE G. DAVIES

N. DE GARIS DAVIES

PUBLISHED BY
THE EGYPT EXPLORATION SOCIETY
LONDON

PLATE I (FRONTISPIECE) FRANCIS GIESLER NEWTON

(Photograph by Swaine)

THE MURAL PAINTING OF EL-'AMARNEH

EDITED BY
H. FRANKFORT

BY

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LONDON
1929

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IN GREAT BRITAIN
BY



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CONTENTS

| An. | | | | | | | | | | | PAGE |
|-----------|-------|-------|-------|------|-------|-------|-------|-----|-----|----|------|
| FRANCIS | | | | | | | | | | | |
| THOM | AS V | VHIT | TEM | ORE | | | | | • | | vii |
| NOTE . | | | | | | | | ٠ | | | ix |
| LIST OF I | PLAT | ES . | | | | | | | | | xi |
| CHAPTER | | | | | | | | | | | |
| PAINT | ING | OF E | L-'AN | IARN | EH. | By I | I. FR | ANE | (FO | RT | I |
| CHAPTER | | | | | | | | | | | |
| By S. I | R. K. | GLA. | NVIL | LE | • | • | ٠ | | ٠ | ٠ | 31 |
| CHAPTER | III. | THE | PAI | NTIN | igs (| OF TI | HE N | ORT | HE | RN | |
| PALAC | E. I | By N. | DE G. | ARIS | DAV | /IES | | ٠ | | | 58 |
| INDEV | | | | | | | | | | | |



FRANCIS GIESLER NEWTON

1878-1924

Francis Giesler Newton, son of the late Rev. H. E. Newton, Rector of St. Matthew's, Silver Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea, and Ellen Newton of Mountfield, Upper Maze Hill, St. Leonards-on-Sea, was born at Ipswich, 4th April, 1878. Educated at Repton School, he later entered the Royal Academy School of Art, was made a member of the Royal Institute of British Architects, and in 1895 became a pupil of Sir Aston Webb. After six years he began work independently as an architect in London.

On his holidays in 1896 he painted from nature in Switzerland. In 1899 he designed and built a house for his mother at Hersham in Surrey, where the family afterwards resided for fifteen years. In 1900 to 1901 he spent

six months in Italy painting and studying art.

His first excavations were made in Rome (1905), with Dr. Ashby, working at the Aqueducts and on the Palatine. It was at this time that he made his measured drawing of the Columbarium of Pomponius Hylas.

In 1910 he joined the Palestine Exploration Fund, and was with Mr. Duncan Mackenzie in Sardinia and at Beth Shemish, making architectural drawings of the Khazneh at Petra. Later he assisted Sir Arthur Evans at Knossos, and for two years was on the staff of the joint Expedition of the British Museum and the Pennsylvania University Museum at Ur, where he was so highly appreciated that the American Museum offered him the directorship of its archaeological operations in Palestine. This offer came after his death.

During the World War he served with the Honourable Artillery Company in Egypt, and in the last year as Lieutenant in the Railway

Transportation Service in France.

Assisting in the work of the Egypt Exploration Society at el-'Amarneh for two years, with Professor Peet and Mr. C. Leonard Woolley, he shared the leadership of the 1923–4 expedition with Professor Griffith, was appointed in February 1924 Director of the Society's excavations, and proceeded to el-'Amarneh in October. He was taken ill in camp, and died of encephalitis lethargica in the American Hospital at Assiut on Christmas Day. His death deprived the Society of one of its most highly valued servants.

FRANCIS GIESLER NEWTON

A lover of nature in his earliest childhood, a disciple of beauty throughout his youth, valiant for his country in its hour of great need, Newton was fervently endowed with the spirit of rescue of the older wonders of the world, and to their preservation for posterity he gave his persuasive skill. He brought to his wide range of archaeological experience sensibility and imagination, and comported himself with uncommon understanding and consideration for the native peoples in whose countries he excavated. He ever resisted comparing himself with others, and shared only with silence in the aspersive conversations that characterize a camp. The acclamation of his friends and colleagues, the swiftly successive honours in the fields of his art, and the published results of his research, seem now not only to have been the relevant rewards of his life, but to have given prophetic admonition of its early close.

This volume is a memorial to his undertakings.

THOMAS WHITTEMORE.

NOTE

In publishing this monograph on the Mural Painting of el-'Amarneh the Committee are conscious of a heavy debt to several members and friends. They would especially record here their gratitude to Dr. Alan Gardiner, who has made the volume possible by his generosity in financing the work of Mrs. Davies, the results of which were by themselves sufficient to make a publication on these lines imperative; and to Mr. Lythgoe and the Authorities of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for collaborating in the copying of the wall-paintings in the Northern Palace by lending Mr. Davies' services for the work, and for a similar favour in respect of Mr. C. K. Wilkinson. They would also thank Mr. Emery Walker and his assistant, Mr. Kent, for the patient skill which they have given to perfecting the reproduction of the colour-plates; and Messrs. Charles Whittingham and Griggs, and Messrs. William Clowes and Sons, Ltd., for the interest and care they have shown in their respective shares of the production of the volume.

The editor wishes to express his indebtedness to Mr. Herbert E. Winlock and to the Authorities of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, for their permission to reproduce on Plate XIII some paintings found in the Palace of Amenhotep III near Thebes; to Mr. N. de Garis Davies for practical advice in connection with the publication of the book, and for Figure 2 on page 4; to Mr. S. R. K. Glanville for seeing the book through the press; and to Mr. H. G. G. Payne for much help in the wording of Chapter I.

A chapter on the Northern Palace by Professor Thomas Whittemore has been withheld, because recent discoveries make the interpretation of that building subject to a controversy, which would be out of place in the present volume. The relevant facts and their discussion are reserved for the Memoir on the excavation.



LIST OF PLATES

| PLATE I, | Francis Giesler Newton (Frontispiece) |
|-------------|---|
| II. | "Green Room," East Wall |
| III. | The Doves (Detail from Plate II). In colour |
| IV. | |
| V. | "Green Room," West Wall 17, 23, 59 ff. |
| VI. | Pigeons and Shrike (Detail from Plate IV). In colour 17, 59 ff. |
| | Kingfisher (Detail from Plate IV). In colour . 17, 59 ff. |
| VII. | Three fragments of border designs: A and C, Details from Plate II; B, From east half of south wall of North-eastern Court. In colour 69 |
| VIII. | Kingfisher and Dove (Details from Plates II and IV) . 59 ff. |
| IX. | Shrike (Detail from Plate II); Vine-leaves and Olive |
| 121. | (unplaced fragments). In colour 25, 59 ff. |
| Χ. | Geese and Cranes, from West Rooms of North-eastern Court of Northern Palace |
| XI. | Goose (Detail from Plate X). In colour 16, 66, 70 |
| XII. | Various Fragments from the Northern Palace 2, 15, 69 f. |
| XIII. | Paintings from the Palace of Amenhotep III near Thebes 27 |
| XIV. | Plan of the Northern Palace 58, and passim |
| XV. | Detail of flowers and fruit in Fayence and Wall-paintings 45 ff. |
| XVI. | Garland designs on Mummy Cases 41, 44 ff. |
| XVII. | Ducks from House V.37.1. In colour 48 ff. |
| VIII. | Mural Designs from Houses |
| | A. A Garland Fragment, House V.37.1 45, 47, 48 |
| | B. Frieze, Official Residence of Pnehsy 51 |
| | C. Garland, House R.44.2 45 |
| | Garland and Ducks, House V.37.1. In colour 48, ff. |
| XX. | Garland and Ducks, House of Ra'nûfer 46, 48 ff. |
| XXI. | False Window Frieze, House V.37.1 51, 57 |



THE MURAL PAINTING OF EL-'AMARNEH

CHAPTER I

THE AFFINITIES OF THE MURAL PAINTING OF EL-'AMARNEH

By H. FRANKFORT

Among the paintings discovered by the late Mr. F. G. Newton, and now published in this volume, there are some so strikingly novel both in style and subject that they can hardly be discussed in isolation. They involve the whole problem of the position of the school of el-'Amarneh in the history of ancient art. Various attempts have already been made to explain their character by the hypothesis of foreign influence; but it is obvious that this hypothesis can only be considered when the relations of these paintings to the art of el-'Amarneh as a whole, and furthermore the connection of el-'Amarneh with Egyptian art of the preceding periods, have been fully understood.

In attempting to make these relations clear we shall make equal use of the material from tombs, palaces and houses, for, whatever the relation between tombs and dwellings may be, there is certainly no essential difference between funerary and purely secular painting. We can see this at el-'Amarneh itself when we compare the paintings from palaces with the scenes from the rock-tombs. We shall find further evidence of this when our inquiry proceeds; here it may suffice to point out the identity of certain motives and characteristic details which occur both in the rock-tombs and the dwellings, for instance the motive of servants watering and sweeping a court and the typical design of the royal cushion.

* Petrie, op. cit., Pl. 1; Davies, op. cit., VI, Pl. IV; a third instance was found in the Northern Palace.

^{*} Petrie, Tell el Amarna, Pl. v; Davies, The Rock Tombs of El Amarna, VI, Pls. xix, xxviii, and elsewhere.

PAINTING MURAL

Similar points of contact between funerary and secular art are found at Thebes. Thus the vine-ceiling of the tomb of Sennufer (No. 96 B) is widely used in the Northern Palace at el-'Amarneh; the decorative groups of ducks and pigeons from the ceiling of the palace of Amenhotep III, near Thebes, are closely related to those in the tomb of Kakemu. In fact this design may well have originated in wall-paintings of fowling-scenes, such as we often find in the tombs. In the tombs of Haremhab (No. 78) and of Kenamûn (No. 93) the birds fluttering above the papyrus make a regular pattern which fills the wall-space up to the ceiling, and this may easily have been transferred to the ceiling itself; we cannot, of course, tell whether this innovation happened first in dwellings or in tombs. The spiral-ceiling of the Theban tombs is now known to occur in a secular building at el-'Amarneh. Again, the block-border and the "tail" or "chain" pattern which form a side-edging in the tombs 2 are used similarly at el-'Amarneh in the Northern Palace. It is therefore clear that we have a right to use the material from tombs along with that from dwellings, at any rate in discussing the purely artistic problem with which we are concerned. Lastly, it should be said that we shall treat relief and painting together, as they are most intimately connected.

It is often said, by way of summary, that the art of el-'Amarneh differs from that of preceding periods in being "naturalistic." Unless we

are pedantic enough to insist on the technical distinction between realism and naturalism, we are very likely to be misled by the term, and to lose sight of the essentially original character of the art which we are discussing; for there is realism of a kind in nearly all phases of Egyptian art. The important point is this: outside el-'Amarneh realism plays an entirely subordinate part. For Egyptian art is ideoplastic; the forms with which it renders objects are based on ideas, not on sensations. What is known, not what is seen, is the artist's primary concern. An Egyptian painting is therefore a conceptual image, as we can see, for example, if we glance at the famous battle-scene in an Old Kingdom tomb (Fig. 1).3 the town is indicated in a most abstract way, that is by the writing-sign, the hieroglyph being simply enlarged so as to contain the number of sections requisite to show what is happening amongst the besieged. Notwithstanding the fact that the town is thus rendered by a mere ideogram, in the lower corner on the left-hand side we see an Egyptian soldier making a breach in it; although the hieroglyph gives a diagrammatic

* E.g., BLACKMAN, Meir, III, Pls. x, XII, etc. WRESZINSKI, Atlas, I, 375. 3 PETRIE, Deshasheh, Pl. IV.

plan of a fortified wall, the scaling-ladder is put up against the wall as though it were in elevation. These discrepancies did not trouble the Egyptian because, for him, the picture was not the rendering of observed reality, but the expression of a series of concepts; and as such it was certainly unambiguous. But it is evident that, in an artistic tradition which is fundamentally intellectual and conceptual, realism can play only a very limited part; it can only be admitted as a further definition and specification of the concepts which are expressed. The amount of observed detail which is introduced may therefore vary considerably in particular instances, but the underlying principle will not be affected. And yet remarks on realism in Egyptian art are almost always based on this purely quantitative criterion. The reason for this is simply that by the time of the Fourth Dynasty a definite



F16. 1.

series of forms had been evolved which were henceforward accepted by later schools as an authoritative standard. And indeed none could deny that the canon of this early period provided a remarkably successful solution of the two main problems involved: the forms which it prescribed were clear, compact, and rhythmical, and therefore aesthetically satisfactory; at the same time they were easily intelligible and therefore perfectly adequate as a representation. Thus, to take one example, there was a particular compound form for the rendering of the concept man; tradition dictated various means of modifying the form for particular purposes—distinctions of dress and gesture, for instance—so that differences of social status or function, such as those between a noble, a scribe and a butcher, might be clearly understood. The artist sometimes goes beyond this convention and elaborates the traditional forms with further

detail, by marks of age or corpulence and so on. In such cases we are wont to speak of realism in Egyptian art. But there is, as we shall see presently, no essential difference between occasional realistic work of this kind and more conventional art. It simply contains a greater number of detailed statements of fact, and its presence in compositions which are otherwise purely conventional is ample evidence that it was not regarded as extraordinary.

In the best works of el-'Amarneh this is changed. There we find a conscious attempt to make the visual perception, the observation of the actual appearance of nature, the basis of the artistic process. A likeness, not a symbol, is what the artist wants. He is not completely successful in his attempt, partly because the habit of conceptual vision was too strong for him, partly because he knew nothing of the laws of perspective. In intention, however, the art of el-'Amarneh, like that of Crete, makes a profound

contrast with that of all other pre-Hellenic schools.

To Cretan art we shall return later. Our first concern will be, in substantiating the preceding statements, to try to define the relation between the art of el-'Amarneh and the older art of Egypt. Let us then start with the smallest unit, the single figure. In Fig. 2



Fig. 2.

we have two renderings of the same subject side by side. On the right we see a sleeping herdsman from an Old Kingdom tomb,' on the left a sleeping guard from el-'Amarneh.' Both are good examples of Egyptian drawing, but they speak an entirely different language. The el-'Amarneh relief seems at first vastly inferior; its sagging outlines contrast sadly with the calligraphic beauty of the older figure. But notice how the very looseness of the work expresses the relaxation of the sleeping body, how the head droops heavily, how the features distend. Beside this, the Old Kingdom figure appears a mere ideogram, an expression of the concept "sleeping herdsman.' The el-'Amarneh relief gives, however, with striking directness the sensation which the sight of a sleeping person evokes, and it does so because it is inspired less by a generalised conception of the subject than by direct observation of fact.

There are numerous figures at el-'Amarneh which show the same kind of Cairo, 1562; Wreszinski, Atlds, I, 397.

* Petrie, Tell el Amarna, Pl. xi.

enrichment when compared with conventional Egyptian work. In the delightful tomb of Mahu' there is a figure of the vizier compelled by ceremony to trot beside the royal chariot (Fig. 3). Here again we find, not a conventional formula adapted to a specific purpose by the addition of detail, but the direct rendering of a stiff and corpulent body, labouring painfully in an unusual predicament. And the significance of the figure is subtly

heightened by the contrast with his attendant, who finds it difficult not to outrun his chief. The artist has achieved this impression by making the figure slightly taller and freer in movement; the result is that he almost seems to topple over in his attempt to take the quick short steps which are as unnatural to him as they are natural to his superior. Both figures are then thrown into relief by the sprightly running soldiers on either side, whose movements, in contrast with older usage, are not rendered according to a common pattern but are treated individually. Thus we see that the artists of el-'Amarneh did not regard the human figure as an abstract formula to be modified as occasion required, but that they conceived it afresh and tried to embody in it the peculiarity of each situation. This actually leads them to a most remarkable achievement: the psychological differentiation of their figures. The personages in the older Egyptian scenes are puppets, playing a part in the story which the artist wants to tell. At el-'Amarneh they are animated with a life of their



own, which is determined by the situation of the moment. It is abundantly clear that this difference is caused by a new, more purely visual inspiration. We shall meet a number of examples of psychological differentiation in the course of our inquiry. One instance is given by a group from the tomb of Mahu² (Fig. 4); here we have the owner reporting to the vizier the arrest of some evildoers. Notice the characterization of the vizier, encouraging, expectant, slightly amused; and the great excitement of the worthy Mahu. Both figures are again thrown into relief by the groups of their attendants.

The same picture shows us something else which is equally remarkable and also characteristic of the new art: the whole interest is no longer

DAVIES, op. cit., IV, Pl. xx.

DAVIES, op. cit., IV, Pl. XXVI.

concentrated on action. As we saw, when the artist abandoned the purely conceptual attitude of the earlier periods for one which took direct account of visual phenomena, his whole outlook was enriched; as a result he can now place two figures in simple juxtaposition without having to picture them in action so as to explain their presence. In the scene with the vizier it might still be said that there was action—the action of reporting. But there is no action in the small and quite subsidiary scene from Mahu's tomb (Fig. 5), where a petty official and a yokel are in conversation. Such a subject as this is only conceivable in an atmosphere like that of el-'Amarneh.

We may end with another comparison between a figure from el-'Amarneh and that from an earlier period. Let us take the relief-block Bologna



Fig. 4.

No. 1888, which has been recognised by Professor Capart as belonging to the Memphite tomb of Haremhab,² a detail of which (Fig. 6, B) may be compared with a figure from the tomb of Nebamûn (Fig. 6, A),³ dated to the reign of Thutmosis IV. In this reign, as Mr. Davies has pointed out,⁴ many experiments in realistic rendering were made. Comparison, however, again reveals what is new in the el-'Amarneh period. It certainly brings out a gross mistake in the later of the two figures; for the old convention, here maintained, of showing the torso in frontal view is particularly disturbing when the position of the right arm is such as to draw attention to the two shoulders. Nevertheless, this later figure is unquestionably the more realistic of the two. The scenes in Nebamûn's tomb show the conventional scenes of busy servants, but with a striking addition: the heads are carefully drawn so as to indicate a foreign, specifically an Armenoid type. With the other

DAVIES, op. cit., IV, Pl. xxiv.

* Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, VII, Pl. vi.

DAVIES, Tombs of Two Officials, Pl. xxx. * Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, II, Dec. 1923.

figure, however, this same detail is merely incidental, for here the whole figure is evidently the product of a mind interested in actual appearance rather than in abstract conceptions. Notice, for instance, the position of the head and legs, a position for which I know no parallel in Egyptian art. For Egyptian convention prescribed that one leg should always be put well in front of the other, so that it is generally impossible to decide whether

the figure is conceived as moving or as standing still. For a portrait of a loafer we have to wait till the art of el-'Amarneh appears.'

The examples just given may suffice to illustrate the differences which exist between the realism of el-'Amarneh and that of earlier Egyptian art in the rendering of the single figure. It is immaterial that here and there in earlier art we find instances of a realism which is also based on direct



Fig. 5.

visual experience, and renders direct sensations instead of soberly adding unusual details. Such are the eager shooting figure of the sportsman Senbi; or, in a Theban tomb, on a wall covered with the dullest of drawings, two figures of musicians: a harpist playing, serious and absorbed, her head inclined a



little towards her instrument; and next to her a girl stamping and dancing, with head thrown backwards, enraptured by her own rhythm. But such figures are rare outside el-'Amarneh, a fanciful experiment which a sensitive artist would allow himself to make when he could do so without infringing a traditional scheme. On the other hand, we find in the tombs at el-'Amarneh a number of works, mostly mediocre, in which the ancient tradition is maintained. This will not surprise us if we realise that the new point of view did not merely conflict with the whole tradition of an

unusually conservative craft; it challenged many of the fundamental preconceptions with which the artist had approached his subject. We know from a number of ostraca that the Egyptian draughtsman, like any other, saw his subject, from the outset, cast in the mould of traditional form. Thus the ostracon Cairo No. 25062—a slight sketch of two butting rams, intended merely as a memorandum of a curious scene—shows the legs of the

⁽e.g., Blackman, Meir, II, Pl. xxvi, the old man watching the construction of a boat) differ in that they are always more or less actively connected with the main action by a gesture. Similarly the usual standing figure of the tomb-owner is not a portrait of a man who is merely idling.

³ Blackman, Meir, I, Pls. VII, XXXII. ³ No. 75; Davies, Tombs of Two Officials of Tuthmosis IV, Pl. v.

animals in an "impossible" perspective, but one which is usual in Egypt when an artist wishes to portray animals in rapid movement; a particularly clear example, therefore, of the way in which conventions of technique may find spontaneous expression. And there would naturally be artists, even at el-'Amarneh, who would be unable to adopt the new point of view at all, while, as we shall have occasion to see presently, even in the most advanced works it is not invariably triumphant; in certain details the old convention remains predominant.

If thus the contrast between the art of el-'Amarneh and that which precedes is not absolute so long as we confine ourselves to single figures, there is a definite break from tradition in the matter of the actual structure of the design. Here the originality of the art of el-'Amarneh lies in the



Fig. 7

stress which it lays on unity of composition. And this innovation, like those to which we have already alluded, is but part of the naturalistic tendency of the new school.

Before dealing with the composition of the wall-pictures as a whole we shall consider the composition of groups of figures. We touched on this subject before in discussing the scenes of conversation in Mahu's tomb, when we noticed how easily the figures were related to one another although not connected by any explicit action.

Let us once more compare two versions of the same subject: a servant fastening a necklace round his master's neck. Our comparison gains point from the fact that the earlier version (Fig. 7) comes from the tomb of Khaemhat, who died under Amenhotep III, in the very period therefore in

which, according to many authorities, the essential features of the el-'Amarneh movement took shape. In both these instances the master stands with uplifted arms; whether in mere joy, in adoration of the donor, or in a conventional gesture of surprise, expressing a sense of unworthiness of the distinction, it is hard to say. In any case, in the scene from Khaemhat's tomb there is no emotion whatsoever in the gesture. And in fact the balanced group of master and servant, the one stooping slightly, the other rigidly upright, is nothing more than a calligraphic ideogram. But the corresponding scene from Parennefer's tomb at el-'Amarneh (Fig. 8)' vibrates with the general excitement of the crowning moment of an official's life. Notice the position of Parennefer's arms, bent at unequal angles, and the almost prostrate figure of the servant, with head thrown up in exaggerated contrast with the direction of the back; the master's uplifted arms seem to



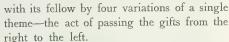
Fig. 8.

tremble, and the servant, stooping in an ecstasy of fervent devotion, arrays his lord with the magic gold of royal favour. The preceding observations only confirm what was said above as to the psychological differentiation of the single figures. They are, however, not only differentiated; they form a closely related group, held together by a strong emotional interest. And besides this we notice a new relation among the subsidiary figures, implying a desire, which is equally new, to connect the secondary groups with each other and with the main group. Neither the groups, nor the elements of each group, are any longer related by the old matter-of-fact process of simple enumeration; the artists of el-'Amarneh improve on this purely intellectual method, by portraying the actual relation between their figures, so that the connection between them is seen, not merely understood. If we turn back to the scene from Parennefer's tomb, we shall find a good instance of the new manner of composition.

The half-turned figure of a servant on the right, with one hand in a

DAVIES, Rock Tombs of El Amarna, VI, Pl. IV.

jar, and in the other a bowl of ointment which he has just been given, links the terminal group, where the movement comes to a full stop, with the lively central group round the treasure-box. Here are four figures united in a common action—storing the presents in the box. The larger figure of the scribe is beautifully balanced by the servant on the left, whose arm and head the artist has purposely brought into view from behind the figure in front. His uplifted hand, in which he holds the necklace, links this group with that of the three servants on the left. These are held together by their concentration on the main scene, with which they are formally connected by the admirable trait d'union of a little servant looking round with outstretched hands. We therefore find in this accomplished drawing four separate groups, each conceived as a unity, and yet connected



Let us look back for a moment and see how earlier Egyptian art would approach a problem of the same kind. In a sense the battle picture shown in Fig. 1 is no less vivid than the scene from Parennefer's tomb; but it is nothing more than a sequence of isolated elements, namely groups of two or three figures, which are not co-ordinated in a single organic design. One could not



want a clearer illustration of the contrast between the old method and the new.

As a further example we illustrate a relief in Berlin, which shows the royal family in the earlier and more extreme style of the new movement (Fig. 9). The attitude of the two youngest princesses is obviously impossible, and the composition shows nothing of the ingenuity which we notice in the scene from Parennefer's tomb. But to realise the novelty of the grouping we must remember that in earlier Egyptian art the figures in a group are never connected unless they are combined in action; at most the connection is a purely external one. In earlier works a woman may be pictured with her hand round her husband's shoulder, or on his arm; a child accompanying its father on a hunting expedition in the marshes may be portrayed squatting in the boat with one arm round his leg. It is very exceptional indeed to find, as we do once in such a scene,' that two figures are linked in a psychological relation—in a similar hunting scene, the child looks up to its

father. At el-'Amarneh, as we have seen, groups of figures are often united in this way; and the family relief, which would otherwise be nothing more than a symmetrical composition of two figures, like those of earlier and later Egyptian art, is effectually held together by the central figure of the princess, who sits on Nefertiti's lap, looks up to her, and points to the homely group on the other side.

The new methods of composing groups which we find at el-'Amarneh are as little a consequence of purely aesthetic considerations as the other innovations which we have discussed; once more we must see in them an attempt to render visual experience. Observation revealed how people group themselves, not only on occasions of common action, but in the many undramatic circumstances of everyday life. That the new compositions have their origin in observation is conclusively shown by the remarkable fact that one of the most compact and closely united groups which the older art had succeeded in creating, is purposely broken up at el-'Amarneh because it was merely a decorative formula, at variance with truth. When Egyptian art pictures a number of persons, who do not differ in appearance or social status, it uses a kind of massed formation (Fig. 7). Figures are placed en echelon, like the wings on a stage, the first one only being drawn in full, the others projecting one in front of another, each contour parallel with the last. It is like writing the plural by adding the plural-strokes to the determinative. At el-'Amarneh, however, there are fewer of these massed compositions, though soldiers and servants may still be grouped in this way; as they are often placed near the edge of the picture (Figs. 7, 8), it may be that massive groups en échelon were felt to have a particular decorative value. But even here some variety is often brought into the arrangement; for instance, in the scene shown in Fig. 8, one of the servants in the lower group on the right carries a stick in his outstretched hand. There is, however, a noticeable tendency to replace the massed formation by closely knit but very varied and lively groups (Fig. 10); or again by figures repeated at greater intervals, as in the case of the running soldiers in Mahu's tomb (Fig. 3). This at first sight recalls the Old Kingdom method of expressing concerted movement by the recurrent rhythm of a series of figures conceived in an almost identical scheme; 2 but there is a great difference, for at el-'Amarneh each figure is treated individually to some extent; and the resulting gain in representational accuracy is but a poor compensation for the total loss of the aesthetic value of the theme.

Not only the composition of the groups, but also that of the pictures as a DAVIES, 06. cit., VI, Pl. XXIX. Cf. Berlin, 2007. SCHAEFER, Von Aegyptischer Kunst, Pl. 19, nr. 1.

whole, is changed by the new naturalistic movement. Formerly the walls were divided into a number of sections of convenient width, in which the various scenes were successively displayed, while here and there the large figure of the owner of the tomb, or of the king, bracketed the little secondary scenes together. But at el-'Amarneh each wall is occupied by one large scene; a few complementary scenes at most, clearly marked as such, may appear in the strip which is left over at the side or at the bottom. Occasionally, when the old-fashioned division into sections is retained, the sections are not completely

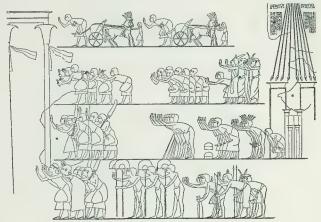


Fig. 10.

separated, and the dividing lines therefore seem to serve as ground-lines upon which the figures stand (Fig. 10).'

Further, the figures are arranged in such a way that in each section the most important functionaries stand nearest to the central scene; subsidiary figures, such as soldiers, charioteers and the like, stand farther from the centre, and they are separated from the higher officials by open spaces (Fig. 10). We have here, in fact, the first attempt to represent the actual spatial relation of the figures in a scene. Thus, in our Fig. 10, the king is on the left of the groups here shown.

Curtius, who was the first to remark the great importance of these particular changes at el-'Amarneh, emphasized the fact that they serve to unify the composition as a whole.² This is quite true, but it is simply an

* Davies, op. cit., VI, Pl. xxix.

² Antike Kunst, I, 164 ff.

incidental result of the realistic tendencies of the el-'Amarneh school. The artists were no longer satisfied to convey by symbols that certain things had happened; they wanted to picture each event as it happened. Hence the great spreading compositions, consisting of independent groups spaced according to the function and status of the subjects. The consequent loss of continuity does not break up the composition into isolated fragments, because the figures are all made to participate in the event which is thus pictured. Let us take, for instance, such a seemingly unimportant motive as the bowing servants who stand behind dignitaries or ladies of the court. In Khaemhat's tomb they are still drawn with their eyes directed towards the ground, because the rendering of the bowing attitude is mechanically done, with the erect normal figure as a starting-point; in el-'Amarneh the servants stand in the identical attitude which is apparently prescribed by court ceremonial, but their heads are raised and they are eagerly watching what is going on. We remember how the figures in the family relief (Fig. 9) were held together in precisely the same way. In the large scenes where the servants, standing at the outer edge of the assembly, all concentrate their looks on the central event, the same effect is reached with even greater subtlety, because the means are much less obvious.

A further comparison with earlier art will serve to confirm our interpretation of the new manner of composition. The pictures are no longer pictures of events without a setting; the scene of action—it may be a palace, a temple, a storehouse, or the house of an official—is, as a rule, indicated with the greatest care. As a result there is a certain amount of "landscape" in these scenes. The background is no longer a residue to be carved up into a variety of disconnected scenes; it becomes important because it has a function to perform; it specifies the circumstances in which the scene is set. So in the tomb of Tutu (Fig. 11), where the palace is pictured on the right and the temple on the left; part of the space between is cut up into sections, sharply divided, but we cannot start at the top and read down the various scenes as we could in earlier wall-paintings. All this part of the background is vaguely felt to be between the palace and the temple, and it is therefore used to render something of the traffic and movement which animate this part of the town, though this involves a certain amount of detail which is only partly relevant to the main subject of the picture. At the top, perhaps where the edge of the town reaches the desert, there are the guards; three parallel representations fill the succeeding sections and are intended to render Tutu's joyous return after the ceremony in the palace. Other scenes are depicted in the two lower registers: servants bringing cattle and flowers for the impending feast on

Tutu's estate, messengers dashing to and from the palace, guards talking, and so on.

Scenes like that which we have been discussing hover on the brink beyond which the use of some sort of perspective becomes imperative. Indeed, the remarkable picture of the landing-place of el-'Amarneh, with ships at anchor and gangways crossing the muddy banks, covered with their abundance of flowering plants, and connecting the boats with the pillared quay,' shows

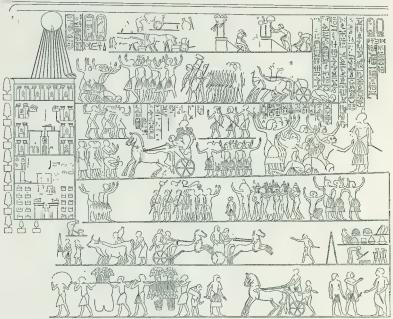


Fig. 11.

the so-called "cavalier perspective," in which the ground seems to mount towards a very high horizon, such as might appear to a man looking down from horseback or from a hill. On the painted casket from Tutankhamun's tomb, and in the scenes of battle and hunting of the Ramesside reliefs, this "cavalier perspective" is still used.

It is therefore true to say that the art of el-'Amarneh reveals in its constituent elements as well as in its principles of composition a new attitude

towards visual experience; that although observation of nature occasionally resulted in a realistic treatment of details in much earlier art, such observation was not allowed to influence the artist in any considerable degree before the el-'Amarneh period. It must not be forgotten, however, that el-'Amarneh never succeeded in freeing itself entirely from traditional convention. Mediocre artists were naturally unable to change the point of view which their training had given them and to improve upon the convenient system of ready-made formulae which they found to hand. But even the outstanding masters could not free themselves from certain hereditary inconsistencies; we no longer find the old mistake of drawing both feet from the inside, only showing the big toe; but the eye is still invariably drawn frontally in profile faces, and people are still drawn larger and smaller according to their relative importance. It is evident that the sudden development of the new art was cut short in its prime by the sudden end of the political and religious movement of el-'Amarneh. Thus it is that the art of el-'Amarneh never attains maturity, but retains a somewhat mixed character.

We have as yet said nothing of the paintings, and that because they cannot be understood unless considered in the artistic context to which they belong. The paintings are clearly of three kinds. In the first place there are the decorative designs, which are studied by Mr. GLANVILLE in another chapter of this book. Their purely Egyptian character is there brought out and their new features are analysed. Secondly, there are paintings which seem, so far as their damaged state allows us to judge, to fall into line with the old tradition. In the first place we have a painting found by Sir Flinders Petrie, of servants watering and sweeping a court, the sand of which is indicated by a yellow background.' The close resemblance between these paintings and certain scenes sculptured in tombs has already been referred to above. A similar figure-frieze seems to have ornamented the large pillared hall in front of the throne-room in the North Palace, where traces of bare feet could be distinguished on the yellow background above the design shown in Pl. XII, A; the ornamental design itself resembles in its arrangement one preserved in Amenhotep III's palace near Thebes, where rankh and sa' signs alternate instead of the heraldic plants of our design, and are separated in a similar way by "false doors." Further, by far the greater part of the rooms in the north-eastern part of the palace has been decorated with panels of a similar composition (Pls. X, XI, XII, B). Here we have various kinds of birds, ducks, geese and cranes, each drawn on a separate ground-line, while the more substantial objects, human figures, jars and the like, rest on the lower edge of the picture. The colouring of the birds and their markings are

exceedingly well portrayed and are very realistic; notice further the acute observation of nature implied in the drawing of the head and neck of the goose (Pl. XI). But these scenes do not seem to differ essentially from those of older Egyptian art.

The two finest paintings which we possess from el-'Amarneh stand, however, in a class by themselves. The main features of one have been recovered from Sir Flinders Petrie's fragments by the ingenuity of Mr. Davies (Fig. 12). There are still some incongruous survivals from older tradition—such, for instance, as the disproportionate smallness of the servant on the left in comparison with the figures of the royal family, and the conventional

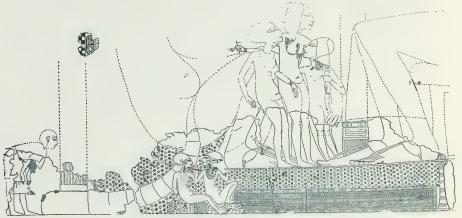


FIG. 12.

misdrawing of the right hand of the little princess in the foreground. The two princesses in the foreground fall right out of the main composition, but they are charmingly arranged so as to form a subsidiary group by themselves. The composition of the main group is much more intricate. The principle is the same as that which we see in the relief Fig. 9, where the figures of the children in the middle unite the two larger figures at either side; but in the painting the unity is positively over-emphasized. Not only are the three sisters literally held together by their interlocking arms; one of them reaches behind the other towards the baby on the queen's lap; each looks towards one of the parents, and thus serves again as a connecting link; while, as though all this were not enough, Nefertiti's hand presses the whole group of

children against her knee. Nevertheless, the painting forms an able and interesting attempt to picture a situation as it actually appears.

The other fragments published with this scene in the Journal do not call for comment; they illustrate how varied the subjects of these palace paintings were, and how numerous are the links with the scenes from the rock-tombs. Similarly it is unnecessary here to deal with the other fragments from the Northern Palace. It remains to consider the position of the most astonishing monument yet discovered at el-'Amarneh, the large painting of the papyrus marshes, which is discussed more fully in Chapter III. The very subject is remarkable; it has not a trace of a utilitarian interest, of connection with man or works of man; it is nothing more nor less than a scene from nature. And yet this very absence of a motive, beyond the pure delight in the subject for its own sake, is simply another manifestation of the element which we have seen to be essential in el-'Amarneh art. In our analysis of that art we have often remarked the force of direct observation and the comparative rarity of purely conceptual processes. The same endeavour which made possible the figure of the watchman asleep and of the idler in Haremhab's tomb, the new and vivid groupings from the tombs of Mahu and Parennefer, and the vague feeling for landscape in the large compositions, finds its most complete realisation in the splendid landscape reproduced in the colour-plates of this volume.

Mr. Davies does full justice to the artistic qualities of the work; he also points out what is new in the rendering of the subject, but rightly stresses the many links which connect this painting with earlier Egyptian art. We need only add that if we consider the freedom of this composition in keeping with the el-'Amarneh movement as a whole, there is none the less much in the actual drawing which betrays the survival of earlier ideas. Thus we see that the wings and tail of the pigeons are drawn as if seen from above, though their bodies are in profile; the wings and body of the kingfisher are likewise drawn from above, the head on the other hand in exact profile. And our artist, despite his keen eye for the appearances of nature, has made the mistake of putting one of the doves (the second from the left, Pl. IV) in mid-air against the background of reeds, a procedure which is wholly inconsistent with the new manner, but which was common enough in the traditional, purely conceptual school." Thus the great qualities and the shortcomings of this unequalled painting are alike characteristic of el-'Amarneh; there is no room left for foreign influence, unless the very movement which brings this art into being be considered of foreign inspiration, or at least

enhanced by impulses from abroad. And this is a possibility which must now be considered.

The art of Asia in the second millennium is virtually an unknown quantity, but in the periods which are well known to us it is consistently ideoplastic in character, though it possesses a much less elaborate formal tradition than that of Egypt, and therefore appears less uniform. It is impossible to decide whether the practice of indicating locality persisted during the time which elapsed between the erection of the stela of Naramsin and that of the bronze gates of Balawat, or whether it was introduced anew in the ninth century. We are equally in the dark as to when the use of the "cavalier perspective," which we find here and there in Assyrian reliefs, was introduced. In these circumstances it is obviously useless to speculate upon the possible influence of Asiatic art on that of Egypt.

In Crete, however, the main course of artistic development is clear. We can see how the island population, in two long strides, left behind the European savagery of which it was a part in neolithic times. The first

advance is reflected by the extraordinary development of decorative design in the First and Second Middle Minoan Periods, which are contemporaneous with the Middle Kingdom in Egypt; the second advance, at the beginning of the Third Middle Minoan Period, which runs parallel with the Hyksos period in Egypt, brings the sudden appearance of extensive naturalistic mural decorations. It is with this school of fresco-painting that we are here

concerned.

There is no doubt that the appearance of the new Cretan art would seem less sudden if our material were less fragmentary, though it is likely that we should find its genesis to be complete within a few generations; for there is definite evidence that a similar mural decoration did not exist in the

preceding period.1

The succeeding period brings an entirely unexpected development: naturalistic fresco-painting on a great scale. Here the varied colours, the constant changes, the very movement of natural life are felt with the utmost sensitiveness, and audaciously expressed. Nothing is yet known of the laws of perspective, but the artists, seemingly unaware of the difficulties involved, attack problems which have exercised the minds of the masters of Greece and the Renaissance for generations. There are friezes of pure landscape amongst the earliest products of the new art at Knossos and Hagia Triada;

¹ RODENWALDT, *Tiryns*, II, 192; KURT MÜLLER, *Jahrbuch Deutsches Archaeol. Inst.*, XXX, 1914, 276, 281. The so-called floral motives on Kamarès pottery are nothing more than decorative designs, based on some natural object which had attracted the artist through its possibilities of stylization.

there is a rendering of the quickest movements of acrobats and dancers, which is entirely convincing, though closer scrutiny reveals a lack of organic structure which would have exasperated a Greek. The miniature frescoes of Knossos show an attempt at pure impressionism, in the crowds of people

treated as a whole and indicated by a great uniform surface of colour, within which a few details are sketched. No more complete contrast with the clearness of statement which predominated in all art down to Hellenistic times could possibly be conceived.

Cretan painters are completely absorbed in the rendering of visual impressions. We need not argue this point at length, because we shall find in Crete the same kind of realism which we have found at el-'Amarneh, and a few typical examples will therefore suffice. Let us begin with the single figure; in Crete social status is never indicated, as in Egypt and



Fig. 13.

Babylonia, by differences of scale. On the steatite Chieftain-vase from Hagia Triada, for instance (Fig. 13), it is the expressive attitudes of the figures, the free and commanding gesture of the one, the strict, disciplined



attention of the other, which distinguish the commander and his In regard to the lieutenant. composition of groups we need only recall the fresco from Knossos (Fig. 14), where the women who are looking on at a palace function are seen in animated conversation, in order to realise that Cretan artists were interested in action not simply as a means of telling a story, but as an everyday occurrence, and therefore to be studied for its own

sake. And this is just what we find for the first time in Egyptian composition at el-'Amarneh, for instance in the conversations in Mahu's tomb (Figs. 4 and 5).

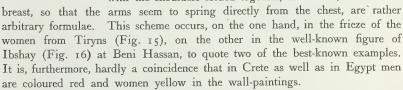
As regards the composition as a whole, the Cretan artist had a way of seeing the main subject and the surroundings as a unity, which is quite peculiar. In the fresco of the saffron-gatherer, the Vaphio cups, the gold

1 HALL, Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age, 158, fig. 195.

rings and the seal-stones, rocks and plants grow into the field of the picture from all sides, not only at the bottom, where the more rationalistic arts of Egypt and Babylon show some kind of schematic indication of the ground, but also from the top and, in fact, from the whole circumference of the picture. The figure is therefore entirely surrounded by the environment. This very effective but somewhat primitive device of rendering "being surrounded" shows the limitations which ignorance of perspective set upon These limitations, and also the fact that each transference of a three-dimensional object to the two-dimensional space of a picture implies the selection of one characteristic aspect from many possibilities, introduced a

> certain number of conceptual elements into Cretan art. We shall here confine ourselves to those which find parallels in Egypt and are therefore relevant to our inquiry.

> In Crete, as in Egypt, the eye is always given in frontal view though the head is in profile; in both countries the two shoulders of a profile figure are shown, though often the arms are then disposed in some way which at first appears to conform to nature, as, for example, in the Cup-bearer fresco. Neither of these two conventions need be taken to imply influence on Egypt from Crete, or vice versa, for they are ubiquitous in ideoplastic art, and are the only means of presenting these parts of the body in their most complete and most characteristic form. Not all the ideoplastic renderings which are common to Cretan and Egyptian art are of this order. Some, such as the scheme used for a person carrying something, with the shoulders folded together, as it were, towards the



Finally, there are some technical resemblances which may be given here for what they are worth: in both countries the sketch for the painting is done in red paint; long straight lines are marked out by means of a taut



VALENTIN MÜLLER, Jahrbuch Deutsches Archaeol. Inst., XXXX, 1925, 85 ff. The unique hunting scene in the tomb of Kenamûn at Thebes (93) is unfortunately too damaged to allow one to judge whether the artist aimed at the expression of the same idea, still less whether he did so under the influence of Cretan paintings.

string, set against the wall, pulled back and released so as to make a mark. RODENWALDT further remarks how many Aegean frescoes show dadoes imitating different kinds of coloured stone which are not actually used in Aegean architecture. Such stones, as well as painted imitations, are used in Egypt.

These facts taken together suggest that, though the rise of the new art in Crete can only be interpreted as a manifestation of the particular forces which went to build the civilisation of the island, a knowledge of Egyptian art may have been one of the secondary factors which determined the forms adopted by the Cretan painters. It is well to realise this, so that points of resemblance may not be misinterpreted as signs of Cretan influence in Egypt.

That the "borrowed" elements were perfectly absorbed in a thoroughly un-Egyptian, purely indigenous system is only what we should expect. For the three principal cultures of the Near East maintain their own pronounced and peculiar individualities, despite continuous exchange and intercourse. It is only in intermediate regions of secondary importance, like Palestine and Syria, that we find mixed and cosmopolitan word.



Fig. 16.

find mixed and cosmopolitan civilisations in the proper sense of the

The cultural relations which existed in normal times of commercial intercourse might be intensified in the course of the periodical upheavals which led to the migrations of large bodies of people. The rise of naturalistic fresco-painting in Crete falls within one of these periods, the period of the Hyksos kings. Throughout the Hyksos period the contact between Egypt and Crete remained close—both may conceivably have formed part of an ephemeral world-monarchy under the Hyksos ruler Khian—and it remained so during the New Kingdom. Recently Professor Eduard Meyer has even suggested that the Hyksos dominion was broken by an alliance between Crete and Upper Egypt.³ It is to this or to a slightly later period that Sir Arthur Evans would attribute the newly discovered frescoes of negro soldiers under the command of a Cretan officer, and of monkeys in a papyrus-thicket, subjects which tell the same tale of intercourse with Egypt.

Bosanquet, Excavations in Phylakopi, 79. * Tiryns, II, 23 ff. 3 Geschichte des Altertums, II, 1, 55.

On the other hand, the dagger and axe of Queen Aahhotpe give unmistakeable proof of Aegean influence: the running animals on the dagger form an un-Egyptian design; the griffin on the axe-blade betrays, by its wings, its crest, its "notched plumes," and the curly feathers of the neck, its foreign parentage.1 The "flying gallop" remains henceforward in use in Egypt; in the Theban tombs, where occasionally Cretan ambassadors and Cretan goods are pictured, there appear in the ceiling decorations the spiral and bucranium motives of the Aegean world. But Cretan influence produced nothing more far-reaching than the occasional adoption of such isolated motives; the fundamental contrast between the two schools of art remains intact. Thus in Egyptian drawing and relief the whole character of the work resides in the outline, which is refined to such a degree that it became capable of expressing almost everything that the artist had to say. The early Cretan painters make very little use of outline; they seem to have felt it as something abstract, which is not actually a part of nature. They work in surfaces of colour which are put side by side, and it is only when two areas of the same colour touch that a bounding line of red or yellow is used; it is only in the more conventionalised paintings of the later Cretan school that the use of outline becomes general.

The contrast between Egyptian and Cretan art is further illustrated by the curious paradox that, while Crete appears never to have been the home of a school of monumental sculpture before Hellenic times, Minoan artists invented a treatment of relief which was far more sculptural, that is to say three-dimensional, than any known to Egypt or Asia. Egyptian and Asiatic relief is hardly sculptural at all; it is simply drawing in two planes. The few Cretan reliefs that exist are plastic through and through, moulded in the wet plaster without any sharp delineation of planes. Cretan relief is therefore but another expression of the desire to avoid abstractions that we have already noticed; for the fresco painter disliked the abstraction of outline, the relief-worker the abstraction of flatness, which is universal in contemporary relief work outside Crete.

Let us end by comparing identical subjects in Cretan and Egyptian art, such as the simple pictures of outdoor life from Beni Hassan and Hagia Triada,² which are roughly contemporary. In the one we have a cat sitting in a papyrus-thicket, an admirable portrait, self-contained and alert, but

in a papyrus-thicket, an admirable portrait, self-contained and alert, but essentially static in character. At Hagia Triada we see a cat stalking a pheasant; the painter's whole interest is in the silent, stealthy movement with

¹ Evans, Palace of Minos, I, 551, 710.

NEWBERRY, Beni Hasan, IV, Pl. vi, and Evans, Palace, I, 538, fig. 391.

which the animal seeks a hold on the stones, the dramatic intentness with which it approaches its unsuspecting prey. It is curious to think that this very fresco has been used as evidence of Egyptian influence in Crete. Even if we compare with it another Egyptian tomb picture now in the British Museum, in which a cat is actually shown in the act of catching birds, the contrast is equally pointed: the Egyptian example, in which the cat is shown seizing several birds at a time with claws and teeth, in one convulsive movement, reminds one more of mechanical toys than of living creatures.

There is a similar contrast in the hoopoes of Fig. 17: the one from Beni Hassan, a lifeless piece of work, reminds one of a stuffed bird in a naturalist's window, the other, from Knossos, is caught in a moment of poise, as though





Fig. 17.

it had just alighted, or were about to take flight; we may also notice in passing that there are pronounced divergencies in the colouring and feathering of the two birds. But the whole setting of the two pictures is different: the one, at Beni Hassan, lost in a vast expanse of the usual funerary painting, the other a pure landscape, inspired by nothing more than a delight in nature for its own sake.

This subject brings us back to the large painting from el-'Amarneh, reproduced in Pls. II, IV of this volume, which differs from earlier Egyptian art in exactly the same way as the Cretan fresco which we have been discussing. But before we claim a causal connection, and maintain that the painting from el-'Amarneh shows Cretan influence, we must remember that the Cretan art of which we have been speaking was a thing of the past at the time when Akhenaten founded his capital. Cretan fresco-painting

reached its height in its earliest phase; the later phase grows more and more conventional.

None the less, it is possible that there is really a connection between el-'Amarneh and the earlier Cretan tradition. For on the Greek mainland, where Cretan art had been adopted, patronised and partly transformed by a population of a different race, the Mycenaean civilisation reached its fullest development after the fall of Knossos, about the reign of Amenhotep III. If it is impossible to claim that the art of el-'Amarneh was directly influenced by the early art from Crete, it is at least conceivable, or even, as we shall see, probable, that such influence was exercised by Cretan works in the early tradition, still extant in the Greek mainland in the fourteenth century. For Professor Rodenwaldt has established the extremely important fact that in the Megaron of Mycenae, the old paintings, executed by Cretan artists not long after the founding of the palace, had never been replaced, but were apparently

kept and cherished by succeeding generations.

As the possibility of direct contact between Egypt and the mainland of Greece has not received the attention which it deserves, we shall make a brief survey of the external evidence which is in favour of this suggestion. The various imported Egyptian objects, mostly of fayence, which are found in the Argolid might have reached Greece by way of Crete. But RODENWALDT has pointed out how a filler, which appears on frescoes at Tiryns,3 bears a closer resemblance to the well-known Egyptian imitations of this type of vase 4 than to the Cretan originals. Among the paints used in the mainland frescoes, Mr. Noel Heaton 5 found not only pounded blue glass from Egypt, which was also used in Crete, but green made of malachite, which most likely came from Egypt, but was not known to the Cretan artists, who made their green by mixing blue and yellow. Moreover, the hounds in the Tiryns frescoes are of a variety known in Egypt, but not, so far as we know, in Crete until later, and RODENWALDT has gone so far as to suggest, on the strength of certain details, that these hounds were actually introduced from Egypt. Finally, there is the remarkable reconstruction in which Meurer 6

² Conventionality means two quite different things in Cretan and Egyptian art. In Crete it is not based, as it is in Egypt, on a harmony of traditional conceptual images; the conventionality of later Cretan fresco painting is the result of a gradual process of stylization, in the course of which the fluid forms of earlier painting hardened into a system of harsh and inexpressive formulae. Thus the proud bearing of the earlier figures, with their narrow waists and chests thrown out, becomes a mere contortion in late works like the sarcophagus from Hagia Triada, or even the frieze of the women from Tiryns.

HALL, Annual of the British School at Athens, VIII, 188; FIMMEN, Kretisch-Mykenische Kultur, 174 ff. See also the forthcoming Aegyptiaca, by J. D. S. PENDLEBURY.

³ Tiryns, II, Pls. xIV, 2, XVI, 4. 4 HALL, The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age, 222, fig. 291. 6 Jahrbuch Deutsches Archaeol. Inst., 1912, 208 ff. ⁵ In RODENWALDT, Tiryns, II.

has accounted for the gold-foil of the Mycenaean shaft-graves as coming from an anthropoid sarcophagus; in this particular case the Egyptian affinities are especially clear, for the arrangement of the necklace is typical of the Egyptian sarcophagi from the first half of the New Kingdom.

On the other hand, Mycenaean pottery has been found at el-'Amarneh, and the fall of Knossos, which immediately preceded the el-'Amarneh period, must have scattered Cretan and Aegean peoples throughout the coast-lands of the eastern Mediterranean. The end of the Cretan thalassocracy, if that had implied a monopoly of sea-trade, may well have increased considerably direct intercourse between the ports of the Egyptian Delta and the Greek mainland. There was therefore ample opportunity for the Egyptian artists, seeking new means of expression, to draw upon the Cretan tradition which was still surviving in the frescoes of Mycenae and Tiryns.

If we may thus admit that it is possible, or perhaps even probable, that in the fourteenth century Egyptian travellers saw early Cretan and Mycenaean paintings in the Argolid, it remains to specify the actual points of resemblance between the art of el-'Amarneh and that of the Aegean. Detailed resemblance can only be claimed in the case of a few motives (for the "flying gallop" is found before the el-'Amarneh period), such as the olive-sprig of Pl. IX, c, which finds a close parallel in certain fragments from Knossos, where the dark and light surfaces of the upper and under sides of the leaves are distinguished in the same way. The Cretan fragments, which differ from the other in that they show the flower, not the fruit, of the olive, belong to the First Late Minoan Period, and are therefore about two centuries older than that from el-'Amarneh. The correct drawing of the outside of the foot with the five toes, which appears in Egypt in the el-'Amarneh period, is another point of contact with Aegean painting." Furthermore, the peculiar expressiveness which, at el-'Amarneh, characterizes different individuals finds an analogy in such Aegean monuments as the Chieftain-vase; and the picturing of a definite locality as the setting of a scene, such as we find in the tomb-reliefs at el-'Amarneh, appears, on the other hand, in frescoes at Knossos and on the silver rhyton at Mycenae.

In addition to these points there are some general principles of composition which the art of el-'Amarneh shares with that of the Aegean. The papyrusmarsh fresco covers three walls of a room in the North Palace without a break; in the tombs also it happens occasionally that a scene is carried across a corner without interruption. This is very unusual in Egypt, and even, as

² See PENDLEBURY, Aegyptiaca, for the sudden increase of objects from the reign of Amenhotep III in the Aegean world.

* E.g., Tiryns, II, 89, nr. 111.

Dr. MATZ has recently pointed out, foreign to Egyptian ideas of spatial arrangement ("Raumgefühl"); for the Egyptian principle was to treat the four walls and the ceiling of a room each as a separate unit. Cretan and Mycenaean frescoes, on the other hand, are invariably designed round the whole room in a continuous frieze.²

More important still is the appearance of "cavalier perspective" at el-'Amarneh; for from a very early period this is a favourite device with Aegean artists, who never adopted the Egyptian practice of dividing the field into horizontal sections, or of placing animals on separate ground-lines as is done in Egyptian hunting-scenes. Although the fragmentary paintings from el-'Amarneh happen not to betray any trace of "cavalier perspective," certain tomb-reliefs, as we have seen, show this form of composition; and it is largely

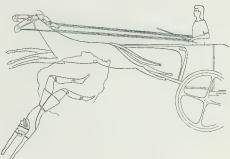


Fig. 18.

used in the battle-scenes of Ramessu II and III, which, as the painted casket from the tomb of Tutankhamun proves, are even more intimately connected with the art of el-'Amarneh than was formerly thought. The silver rhyton from Mycenae, with the siege of a town in mountainous country, resembles similar scenes from Ramesside reliefs in spatial disposition; and RODENWALDT has drawn at-

tention to the remarkable resemblance between the drawing of fallen warriors in the fresco at Mycenae (Fig. 18) and in the relief of the battle of Kadesh (Fig. 19). While, therefore, in the matter of principles the art of el-'Amarneh often resembles that of the Aegean civilisation in general, it is to the mainland in particular that the evidence of details seems to point.

When we review the points of resemblance between these two schools, it seems difficult to deny that Aegean art had some influence on that of el-'Amarneh. But we have already seen that foreign influence may well be compatible with a full measure of native independence, and in our particular case we may not do more than suggest that an acquaintance with Aegean art provided Egyptian artists with the means of expressing themselves in

¹ Fruehkretische Glyptik, 50, 90; Archaeol. Anzeiger, 1925, 299.

² RODENWALDT, Fries des Megarons von Mykene, 12, with n. 30; RIEGL, Stilfragen, 87.

conformity with the new attitude towards nature; this attitude, however, was certainly the direct outcome of the purely internal development which went to the making of the el-'Amarneh movement as a whole. When we look at the paintings from the Palace of Amenhotep III near Thebes, which Mr. H. E. WINLOCK has generously allowed us to publish here (Pl. XIII), we see the Aegean motives of flying gallop, bucrania and spirals. But there is neither here, nor in the ceilings with ducks and pigeons which were found with them, such a contrast with earlier Egyptian art as we have found to be characteristic of the most important works at el-'Amarneh; though Cretan motives were freely used in the Theban palace of Akhenaten's father, there is nothing in the art of his reign which betrays the remarkable similarity with the outlook of the Aegean existing at el-'Amarneh. It remains, therefore, to inquire how

the crisis came about which made it possible for the Egyptian artists to profit more deeply by their acquaintance with Aegean art.

First, however, let us realise that the art of el-'Amarneh shows a perfectly consistent character throughout. We cannot isolate those features which we have seen to be related with the art of the Aegean—features such as the landscape of the birds in the marshes, cavalier perspective, or the practice of indicating the exact setting of particular scenes—and



dismiss them as fortuitous. If we take them in their context, we shall realise that they only appear in Egypt at this particular juncture because they satisfy a want, and that they harmonise completely with the great body of spontaneous innovations which are the direct expression of the new spirit.

The forces which brought about these artistic changes in Egypt were certainly extraneous to art; this is shown by the abruptness with which the new and entirely unprecedented forms appear. It has, in fact, long been recognised that the artistic movement of el-'Amarneh cannot be separated from the religious reform which led to the foundation of the new capital. The first excavator of the site, Sir Flinders Petrie, brought the new art into connection with Akhenaten's insistent claim that truth must be put before all things. The interpretation is no doubt the right one, but we must be careful to determine exactly what we mean by truth in this context. The

truth at which Akhenaten was aiming was, at least in the sphere of art, truth of a particular and very limited kind, the subjective truth of the senses; it was characteristic of Akhenaten's self-centred nature that he ignored the objective, universal truth which the traditional formal language of earlier

Egyptian art had tried to express.

The Colossi recently discovered by the Antiquities Department at Karnak throw further light on the origin of the art of el-'Amarneh. They have confirmed the view, already tentatively suggested by Mr. Davies for many years, and strengthened by archaeological details (e.g. the headdress of Nefertiti), that the most extreme forms of the art of el-'Amarneh belong to its very beginning. In the colossi, made before Amenhotep IV had changed his name to Akhenaten, and also in the reliefs which are related to them, such as the family relief (Fig. 9), physical peculiarities are distorted and exaggerated to such an extent that even Professor Schaefer, who is usually so careful to exclude false modern equivalents from his interpretations of ancient art, has been led to describe these works as expressionistic." The subsequent development of the art of el-'Amarneh, however, shows that this is a mistake. It may be hard at first to see in the extravagant colossi of Akhenaten tentative efforts at realistic representation, which, as we have often had occasion to repeat, is the underlying motive of the art of el-'Amarneh. But it is certain that the later developments of this peculiar style were all in the direction of greater realism; and since there is great consistency of purpose in the art of el-'Amarneh, it seems natural to interpret the early works in the same sense. Further, it is certain that this style was the official style of the early years of Akhenaten's reign, when he was still at Thebes, since he had a number of these colossi put up in his own temple. The new art, suddenly appearing in this way, must have been the direct result of a royal command; on any other hypothesis so complete a break with tradition would be unintelligible. How complete this break was is proved by a comparison with the earlier tradition of royal portraiture, according to which the king is represented first and foremost as a figure of general significance, as the impersonal divine ruler, while the personal characteristics of each successive holder of the office are never, save in a few Middle Kingdom examples, allowed to encroach upon the fundamentally abstract nature of the portrait. There was no precedent for such a command as Akhenaten's, and it is therefore not surprising that the first response took the most extravagant form; that the first artists to whom it fell to break new ground lost themselves in the attempt. It was only later that a few

outstanding masters realised the aesthetic possibilities of the realistic movement. While second-rate artists clung to the early exaggerated forms, the better sculptors and painters evolved the compromise which we see in the best work of the period.

It is generally admitted that the peculiar personality of Akhenaten must have been the mainspring of the el-'Amarneh movement. In the sphere of art we have the explicit statement of one of the chief sculptors, contained in an inscription in the granite quarries of Assuan, that he was taught by the king himself," a fact which testifies to the king's personal concern for the work of his artists. And, as we have said before, the subjective character of the change is in perfect keeping with Akhenaten's self-centred personality. In the sphere of religion likewise he pretended to restore primeval truth, which had been overgrown by ritualistic and formalistic dogmas, while he did nothing more than force the elevated conclusions of his personal reflections on a perplexed population.

Subjective and original as Akhenaten was, there are perhaps indications that the course of events in his reign is vaguely foreshadowed in the reign of his grandfather, Thutmosis IV; for it appears that in this period the rigidity of the old order was broken to some extent.³ Moreover, objects bearing the name of Thutmosis IV have been found at el-'Amarneh, and Akhenaten refers to him in a sadly damaged passage of the boundary stelae. It is thus conceivable that a movement existed under Thutmosis IV, which never approached maturity and which is so ill-defined that we can only recognise it by the negative evidence of a weakening convention. Akhenaten may have derived some of his inspiration from this source, and he may have recognised in it a prelude to his own reforms.

To us the art of el-'Amarneh seems both sudden and ephemeral. We have already pointed out that certain of its achievements in the matter of

 $^{^{\}text{t}}$ Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XIII, Pl. xLv, 2, 3; xLvII, dated to the latter part of the reign by the Aten name.

² Von Bissing, in Sitzungsberichte der Bayer. Akademie der Wissensch., 1914, Abh. 3.

³ Mr. Davies has pointed out (Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, II, Dec. 1923, 40 ff.) that in this reign a great number of new realistic forms appear, which, though not differing in essentials from those of traditional art, imply a weakening of convention, and a definite inclination to experiment. On the Chariot of Thutmosis IV we find the first instance of cavalier perspective. On the Abydos stela of this king we meet for the first time the long flowing robes of daily life, which appear regularly at el-'Amarneh and afterwards, instead of the ancient ritual attire (v. Bissing, Denkmaeler Aegypt. Sculptur, Pl. 78 and text); the king's features also seem to be rendered less conventionally than is usual. Thutmosis' ushabti-figures differ from all earlier and later ones, with the single exception of those of Akhenaten, in that they do not bear the usual magic text but merely the king's name.

composition survived in Ramesside art. The same is true of certain motives, for instance the king at the Window of Appearance, and of the particular method of painting. But the mainspring of the movement lay in another sphere, and it was from this sphere that the forces of disruption came. The rash attempt of Akhenaten had drained the spiritual life of his country by diverting all that was vital and capable of further development into the stagnant backwater of the town from which he chose to govern. When the Aten movement had failed these vital forces had been spent, and the Restoration which followed brought an uncompromising conventionality which obliterated the last traces of the el-'Amarneh movement.

¹ Schaefer in Amtliche Berichte aus den Preuszischen Staatssamlungen, XL, fig. 24.

² Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs.

CHAPTER II

THE DECORATION OF THE HOUSES

By S. R. K. GLANVILLE

§ 1. THE OPPORTUNITY AT EL-'AMARNEH

In a single season of remarkable finds Petrie skimmed the excavator's cream at el-'Amarneh. His sensational discoveries—familiar to a larger public than an Egyptologist could have expected to interest nearly forty years ago—which included the largest of the royal palaces with its (then) unique pavement, the great Temple of the Aten, and the wall-painting of the little princesses now in the Ashmolean Museum, were sufficient to justify many times over this venture into a new field. For this reason, perhaps, it is not always realised how completely his less talked-of results queered the pitch for future excavation. Except in one comparatively restricted direction his successors have had little to do but fill up lacunae in his series, enlarge the scope of a corpus, or confirm theories for which his material had been all but sufficient. Whether it was houses, jar-sealings, pottery forms, fayence pendants and their moulds, or decorative motives in stone and plaster from the public buildings, in every case his page or two was of more importance then than is a chapter to-day based on the ten seasons' work which has intervened."

There have, of course, been individual acquisitions in recent years of first-class importance artistically, the contents of the Sculptor Tuthmosis' workshop and the paintings from the Northern Palace being the principal among these; but there has not been (and is never likely to be so far as we can tell) any substantial addition to our historical or archaeological knowledge derived from el-'Amarneh since Petrie's work there, except in one direction. Successfully tapped by him, this was left so obviously unexhausted that, though he had apparently got at the essence of the inquiry, there was still scope for further excavation if it was resolutely directed to one purpose.

3 See Chapter III.

^{*} See Petrie, Tell el Amarna, 1894. Six pages suffice for the description of the houses. He did not, however, excavate nearly enough houses to obtain a satisfactory "norm" for these buildings. See note 1 on next page.

^{*} M.D.O.G., 52 (1913), p. 28 ff.; Schäfer-Andrae, Die Kunst des Alten Orients, p. 336 ff.

This purpose was a closer study of the domestic architecture of Ancient Egypt than Petrie's somewhat haphazard excavation of a score or so of scattered houses had enabled him to make.

The importance of el-'Amarneh for this study is due to its unique history. It is the site of a city that was built, enjoyed, and practically deserted within the space of fifty years. The majority of its big houses cannot have been occupied for half that time. Yet it was no mere suburb. In size it must have rivalled the oldest towns in the land, and if its power was evanescent, it was nevertheless the capital of the greatest empire of the contemporary world during the few years that the Court resided in it. A city of size and wealth, deserted before its first buildings had been replaced by others, and therefore offering no problems of dating, it was never superimposed, as all the other great towns of Egypt have been, by century after century of successive stages of buildings, each using the rubble of its predecessor as foundations.

Wind and sand have in one breath conserved and destroyed, so that we have anything from eight or nine feet to a few inches of the height of a house left to-day. Floods have taken some away, but they are comparatively few. Most of the stone has vanished. The contractors whom Horemheb and, later, Seti I sent to break up the temple and seize the available stone from the palaces for rebuilding, have also left their mark on the houses, but only to a small extent, as there was generally little stonework in the composition of the latter, and that was not by any means always worth taking. Thus Akhetaten, as the city was named by its founder, presents a unique opportunity for studying the Egyptian city, both from the aspect of town-planning, and from that of the domestic architecture of the individual house.³

^{&#}x27; For instance, he does not record the finding of a single room in a private house with decorated plaster, other than that which contained the famous princesses, which was not a house (see below, p. 50 f.). Again, speaking of the niches, he says: "There is never any trace of ornament, or inscription, or figure" (p. 21), a statement which later researches have shown to be incorrect.

For the scarcity of stone, see PEET-WOOLLEY, City of Akhenaten, I, 37, and cf. J.E.A., XIV, p. 300, note 6.

Clusters of artisans' houses have been found in connection with various important buildings, e.g. the painters' houses discovered by M. Bruyère in 1923-4 at Deir el-Medineh. On a larger scale, but still very restricted in character, there is the town of Lahun excavated by Petrie (see Kahun, Gurob and Hawara, and Illahun, Kahun and Gurob). This was built to house the artisans who were working on the pyramid and temple of Sesostris II. Its position—just below the edge of the high desert on which the temple and pyramid stood, and actually adjoining the temple wall at one point—and character are strongly influenced by its purpose. The plan of the town (Illahun, etc., Pl. xiv) shows between two and three hundred workmen's houses of small dimensions, several store-rooms, and ten large houses—clearly those of officials in charge of the construction and the personnel. Like Akhetaten, it was occupied for a comparatively short period, and the temporary re-occupation under Amenophis III was only a partial one. Though very important for Twelfth Dynasty architecture and house-building, Lahun cannot, however, be considered a normal town. It is, nevertheless, very instructive to compare it with the workmen's town (Eastern Village) at el-'Amarnot (cf. Peet-Woolley, op. cit., 51 ff.), which it resembles very closely in plan and in position, and in its mural painting.

If it is argued that the unique circumstances which produced it make it unsuitable for studying the typical in Ancient Egypt, we must answer that it is very improbable that the conservative Egyptian would have altered the nature of his dwelling-house to any considerable extent simply because it was politic to change his address; and that till something better is found we must make the most of the material to our hand." Considerations such as these may be taken to have persuaded the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft to begin the systematic excavation of the town at el-'Amarneh in 1911.² They, too, have animated the Egypt Exploration Society, which took up the work where it was left by the German excavators in 1914.

Apart from the planning of the houses and the lay-out of the town and its interpretation, nothing is of more importance in these excavations than the material thereby afforded for a study of the decoration so intimately connected with the buildings themselves. Here, surely, since it is part of the expression of an art which is generally confined to the reigns of Akhenaten and his (sometime) Atenist successors, it may be urged that we are on unsafe ground for any deductions as to the ordinary decoration of Egyptian houses at, e.g., Thebes even a century before. But it will be part of the business of this essay to try to show how much of the decorative motives found at el-'Amarneh are peculiar to that site, and what evidence there is for supposing that some of them at any rate were known in Thebes before the time of Akhenaten. It will be worth while also to glance at the development of the main motive, the floral garland, after the return of the Court to Thebes; for though in the later periods there is little chance of finding housewalls for its display, its development can be clearly traced on other objects, and we may legitimately assume its existence as an element in house decoration.

The plan of a typical house at el-'Amarneh has become familiar to most readers from the considerable quantity of architectural reports of the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft in its Mitteilungen,3 and of the Egypt Exploration Society in the Journal of Egyptian Archaeology 4 and above all in the Memoir on its first two seasons' excavations.5 But it will be convenient to summarize the main results of these publications in order to present a clear account of what the Egyptian had to decorate, and of his reasons for disposing his painting as he did.

¹ Cf., however, Davies in an article shortly to appear in Bull. Met. Mus. of Art, New York, who makes out a sound case for the bungalow type of house prevalent at el-'Amarneh being possible owing to the ample room to spread provided by a virgin site, and considers that in crowded areas like the town of Thebes many-storied dwellings were the rule. The el-'Amarneh type is thus the country as opposed to the town house, which is here and there portrayed in the Theban tomb

Dr. Borchardt's excavations in January 1907 (M.D.O.G., 34) were in the nature of a preliminary survey.

³ Nos. 34, 46, 50, 52, 55 and 57. ⁴ I.e. Vols. VII, VIII, X, XII and XIII.

⁵ PEET-WOOLLEY, ob. cit.

§2. THE EL-'AMARNEH HOUSE

The town at el-'Amarneh, as Akhenaten intended it, was probably not more than two miles long; bounded on the north by the huge Temple of the Sun, in the middle of the site, on the west by a strip of cultivation and the Nile, and on the east by over a mile of low plateau, with the cliffs of the Arabian Desert beyond. To the south it was free to straggle on in the direction of Akhenaten's summer palace (Maru Aten), which lay somewhat isolated in the plain. Actually, when it did spread a little farther, in the days of its decline, it was beyond the great Temple to the north. For this the presence of the Northern Palace was doubtless largely responsible.1 The whole width of the town was nowhere more than half a mile. The main streets therefore naturally ran north and south. Of these there were two south of the Temple, and they were intersected by smaller and irregular alleys and passages, courtyards and public squares, giving access from one side of the town to the other. The large houses of important persons lie in pairs or threes or singly, but separated by clumps of smaller middle-class dwellings or mere hovels. But the proximity of what were virtually slums can hardly have offended the wealthier persons to the extent we might expect, for their own houses were invariably placed in the centre of an estate which, besides supplying in miniature the amenities of the country, effectively cut them off from their neighbours. In the northern suburb, which so frequently mirrors the declining power of the Aten, one of the most striking features is the diminished state of the best properties.

The underlying principle of the plans of all but the meanest dwellings is that of a central room surrounded by smaller rooms on all sides, the whole forming a square or rectangular building. This essential plan can be discovered in the most complicated houses; but it is more interesting to examine the logical arrangement of the rooms, to which they are the best clue, and which can then be detected in the poorer buildings. No detailed examination of a single house can better that in *The City of Akhenaten* of the house of the Vizier Nakht. It would, however, be superfluous to repeat that here; and since some description of a normal house is required, it will be best to offer one which has never before been described in full, and

This building was discovered by Newton in the winter of 1923. Half of it was excavated by him during that season, the rest by him and Professor Whittemore in the season 1924–5. (See J.E.A., X, pp. 294 ff., and XII, pp. 4 ff.) The description of the Palace is to be published in a Memoir on the northern end of the site of Akhetaten. The rather prominent occurrence in its inscriptions of the name of Meritaten certainly dates its occupation to the later period of royal residency in Akhetaten. But the titles of Akhenaten also occur, and from these the building is dated to his reign. It is therefore more likely that the Northern Palace was responsible for the growth of the northern suburb of Akhetaten than vice versa.

which at the same time is of the greatest importance for evidence as to the decoration in general.

House V. 37. 1.—This house was discovered by Dr. Frankfort in 1926-7. Its ruins formed a prominent mound some hundreds of yards to the north of the eastern end of the Great Temple, and were clearly the most easterly remains of the line of house ruins which, upon excavation, proved to be the northern suburb of Akhetaten. It has already been said that this suburb showed definite evidence of having been built and lived in towards the end of the period of occupation at el-'Amarneh, and our house, though the largest of those so far excavated, exhibits in several ways the poverty of this latest phase of the town.

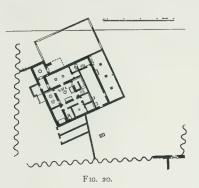
The estate of which it is the centre contains very few of those outbuildings, often sumptuous, to which the larger houses in the south of the town have accustomed us. True, the boundary walls to the north and east have been destroyed by time, and with them may have perished small buildings; but in the considerable area left untouched there is nothing of the nature of out-buildings, except a pair of adjacent store-rooms attached to the south-east corner of the house. The kitchens, too, which in houses of this importance are usually separate buildings standing a little way from the house, here form, with the servants' living-quarters, two long bare rooms running the full length of the east wall of the house and attached to it. Thus the cost of an extra long wall was saved.

A glance at the plan (Fig. 20, p. 36) will show that the essentially square plan of the best type of el-'Amarneh house has been modified here by this contiguity of the kitchen and servants' quarters. The kitchen, which should not be included in the house itself, not only adjoins it but is part of the square plan; while a compromise has been effected for the servants' room, which is contiguous to the kitchen but outside the square. The wall that divides these two apartments emphasizes this distinction by its thickness, equivalent to the other main walls of the house. The outer walls of the servants' room are only half this thickness.

For the purposes of a typical house-plan, however, we have to ignore the kitchen. What is left must now be described in detail. The main entrance is on the north from a courtyard, whose surrounding wall was so denuded as to leave no trace of the gateway into it from the gardens of the estate. A sloping ramp led up to the door (in many cases this is a series of low steps) and through this to an entrance lobby or waiting-room. This small square room stands outside the main square of the building, as is often the case. Beyond it a passage-room, from which a side door led into the

35

the grounds on the west of the house, took the visitor straight into a long reception-room. There is evidence to suppose that the northern or outer wall of this very typical room was largely exposed to the open air, either by means of windows or by being itself reduced to a mere parapet. This room has therefore been called the North Loggia, and its evident purpose was to take advantage of the cool winds from the north in the hot weather. In V. 37. 1, a door in the south-east corner leads by a passage into the kitchens, with which, however, we are not now concerned. The main doorway in this North Loggia is in the south wall, and gives on to the Central Room of the house, the square round which (from one point of



view) the remaining rooms may be said to be grouped. It contains a low brick couch (mastaba) against its southern wall and a stone lustration slab between two doors in the east wall. It is the main reception-room of the house; the place of formal entertainment, of set meals when there were guests. It offers exits to every other part of the house, including the only stairway (through the south door in the east wall) to the roof. To one entering from the North Loggia a doorway on the left leads to two narrow rooms, probably

used for stores; on the right two doors in the west wall give on to the West Loggia, a room similar in purpose to the North Loggia but more suitable to the colder weather, when the last rays of the sun were gratifying. The final stage in the exploration of the house is reached through either of the doors in the south wall of the Central Room. They lead into a passage which connects the private apartments of the house with each other and with the public portion of it. On the east is a large bed-room with a low platform of brick for the bed. Next door is the bath-room, with a stone bath in place and stone tank sunk in the ground to receive the waste water; beyond that again the family's sitting-room, which in most cases is supplied with mastaba and lustration slab so as to give it the effect of being, which indeed it was, a miniature Central Room. Finally, on the left, are two

For a discussion of the evidence bearing on this very uncertain point, see Peer-Woolley, op. cit., 20; and cf. below, p. 51 ff., the description of the painted fragments from the room in question. Is it possible that the curious painting in a house at Lahun (Perrie, Illahun, Kalun and Gurob, Pl. xvi) also represents this long window?

rooms for store-cupboards or offices of some kind. It is common to have two bed-rooms, the smaller one being presumably that of the mistress of the house; V. 37. I, has only one.

From these details certain general characteristics for house-planning in el-'Amarneh may be observed. It was customary to place the entrance at the north or west; two rooms, usually rectangular, almost always correspond to what have here been called the North and West Loggias respectively; there is always a Central Room, which almost invariably contains a mastaba and lustration slab, and often a pottery hearth, and which is generally reproduced in replica in the private part of the house for the benefit of the family when it was not entertaining, and doubtless frequently for the women and children, even when the master of the house had guests; a fair-sized house generally had a staircase leading to the roof, which was certainly used in hot weather to a considerable extent. Still broader and perhaps more significant generalisations may be made about the plan. For the purpose of studying decoration and the use of the house, the grouping of the rooms round a central room is of less importance than the division of all the larger houses into three rectangles by two thick walls running east and west. The first rectangle-it must here (as generally) include the little extraneous square which is the waiting-room or lobby-is the most public part of the building, containing no rooms which are not used for entertainment or which have any contact with the private part of the house. In V. 37. 1, it contains practically all the decoration of merit in the house. The second rectangle is still a public part of the house, in that it contains the Central Room; but it is less so than the first, since it has no direct communication with the main entrance to the house, while on the other hand it is adjacent to the private quarters of the family. The third rectangle—the separate rooms of which are frequently cut off from the second, not only by the thick dividing wall, but also by a passage running the full length of the house—is this domestic quarter, often a veritable prison to its inmates. It rarely possessed an independent exit into the grounds beyond, and though each room might open on to the passage, this as a rule could only be left by way of the central room of the house, which in turn was cut off from the outer door by the series of reception-rooms forming our first rectangle. This tripartite design of increasing intimacy is one of the most significant facts in the plan of the Egyptian house, and can be traced in its effect on the decoration.² It may

As we learn from a formal oath used by a female witness in a lawsuit, who asks that she may be "sent to the back of the house" if she is not telling the truth (Gardiner, Inscription of Mes; cf. J.E.A., XIV, p. 301, note 3).

In House V. 37. 1, the entrance lobby and North Loggia were very highly decorated. The Central Hall contained a scant frieze, to judge from the fragments, and the rest of the house was not decorated.

be properly compared with the essential design of the Egyptian temple, while it has nothing in common with the Roman grouping of rooms round a square hall from which these are separated by a surrounding passage giving comparatively independent egress from all.

With this preliminary survey of the structure of the el-'Amarneh house it is possible to consider the real subject of this essay, namely, the decoration of

the house in so far as it consists in "Mural Painting."

§ 3. THE DECORATION

It will be practicable to treat this part of our inquiry under two heads, viz., the characteristics of the decoration—its essential elements and, to some extent, their origins—and the disposition of these elements throughout the house.

CHARACTERISTICS.—Judging from scanty illustrations in the tombs, actual finds and modern practice, the Ancient Egyptian did not rely very much on knick-knacks or any of the innumerable small objects which we use to-day to make our houses habitable. The furnishing of a wealthy man's receptionroom was doubtless lavish of ebony chairs, coloured rugs, and vases of precious metal; but all these served strictly utilitarian purposes, however artistic in themselves. Cult-objects could not be said to be primarily decorative; and pictures in our sense of the word (something to be attached to or removed from the wall) were unknown. But from the earliest times the Egyptians showed a love of painting every object or material which would take colour, and to our taste much of their finest stone sculpture would be spoilt were we to see it in its original colours.1 The motive underlying all this painting was imitation. Even where the painter had no ulterior object, his intention can have been little removed from the explicitly magical purpose of painting in tombs.2 Thus, in predynastic times, pottery vases were painted to imitate hard stone, and in the Eighteenth Dynasty wooden pots to imitate the soft stones of the country; while statues in wood and stone were regularly coloured in the likeness of the persons they set out to represent. Two conclusions follow from these remarks: first, we may expect all available surfaces within the house to show paint; and secondly, such decorative motifs as will appear may reasonably be supposed to have an imitative source of origin.

The first of these is to some extent modified in fact by practical considerations. Almost all the surfaces of the building were painted; but

² Cf. Winlock in Bull. Met. Mus. of Art, New York, Egyptian Expedition 1927-1928.

² See Gardiner, Tomb of Amenemhët, pp. 19 ff.

expense limited the area of the properly decorative parts. That it was economy, and not a sense of reserve such as would actuate a modern decorator, is clear from the extravagant use of primary colours all over the walls of the North-eastern Court in the Northern Palace, or from the similar decoration of the Palace of Amenophis III at Medinet Habu. To most minds the result in the private houses would be more agreeable, for there the decorative scheme had a sufficient foil in the plain surface of the wall. We may start with this use of a single colour as the simplest form of house decoration employed.

The builder's finish to the walls supplied them, as now, with a readymade background which gave very satisfactory results. This was the mud wash which was placed over the sun-dried bricks to give them a smooth surface and hide the rough joins.3 In a few of the poorest houses it was doubtless the final touch in decoration! But few can have left it at that; whitewash, if only on a mastaba in one room, gave variety of a sort and was cheap enough. A whitewash was, in fact, after the mud, the chief colour used in the houses. Of its disposition we shall speak later, but since it largely explains the introduction of a third plain tone, it must be noted here that the use of white areas on a large scale was occasioned by the necessity of making the most of small and infrequent windows, through which the brilliant light of the Egyptian sun entered the room high up in the walls. It must have been partly from economy—the white walls would have needed frequent re-doing-but partly also to escape from too much of this white reflector, that black paint was also used in some cases, though not very commonly for the undecorated surfaces.4 A fourth and last colour, less well certified, is thought to have been used for ceilings and perhaps for floors, namely, blue; 5 but this, though common as a royal colour instead of black for dados in the Northern Palace, is not otherwise found in the houses as a plain colour wash.

An important stepping-stone from the plain washes to real design in decoration is afforded by the niches, so commonly found in el-'Amarneh houses, though by no means without parallels elsewhere. The discussion of the origin and meaning of this essentially architectural feature of the rooms belongs to the next section. The nature of the painting may be quickly

¹ See pp. 60 and 70, and Pl. XII, B.

^{*} ROBB DE P. TYTUS, A Preliminary Report on the Re-excavation of the Palace of Amenhetep III, pp. 22 and 24.

³ In some of the Theban tombs of the Nineteenth Dynasty mud was used instead of a lime plaster to coat the uneven limestone walls in order to provide a smooth surface for the painter. It was then washed with a thin coat of lime before receiving its decoration.

⁴ At Lahun it was regularly used as a background for designs in colour (Petrie, op. cit., p. 7).

⁵ See below, p. 56.

disposed of. The niches themselves are usually red, or red and yellow—the latter colours arranged in three vertical panels, two red on either side of a yellow. Occasionally the niche was whitewashed in smaller houses; but in such cases it is not possible to say that we have not lost some other colour higher up the walls. In at least two houses, traces of scenes showing figures adoring the Aten have been found at about a metre and a half from the ground on the central (yellow) panel.

More commonly (though by no means as a general rule) the niche itself is framed by vertical inscriptions in one or two columns painted on a yellow or white background. The hieroglyphs are sometimes black, but more often of various colours, and in this case must have contributed considerably to the general decoration of the room. The purpose of such inscriptions, however, was doubtless primarily religious (or loyalist), and elsewhere is used only on doorways, and never as a design pure and simple.

We are now in a position to consider the purely decorative designs. They are of two types: (i) the various block patterns, and (ii) naturalistic designs.

BLOCK PATTERNS.—The commonest border design from the Old Kingdom onwards was the block pattern, which consisted in a series of coloured rectangles separated by narrow strips. At el-'Amarneh there are two clearly distinguished types of this border. The older consisted of rectangular spaces of colour separated by three narrow strips (blue between white or vice versa) bordered by long strips of green. The rectangles are alternately red, blue, green, yellow (not necessarily in that order) with a variation, blue, red, blue, green, etc. The later block pattern had as a rule seven strips between the rectangles, of which four were yellow, two red, and one green, the rectangles themselves all being blue. Again the whole was framed by narrow borders, usually of yellow.

The older type may perhaps be recognised in the edges of the tiled imitation matting on the walls of all the important chambers of Zoser's pyramid at Saqqarah. It is to be noted that although the fayence plaques set in the limestone here imitate a green material, *i.e.* matting, they are themselves blue. The border is regularly found in Old Kingdom tombs. On coffins of the First Intermediate Period and Middle Kingdom it appears again, and the imitation of textile work which often covers the complete sides of these coffins suggests that the border still had an intelligible part in the design. At this period there is a tendency to increase the use of blue in the block pattern by disposing the rectangles in the order blue, red, blue,

^{&#}x27; Peet-Woolley, op. cit., p. 43. In the smaller house the bottom of the design was only 90 cm. from the ground.

green, etc. This tendency grows in the Eighteenth Dynasty, and the predominantly blue border is the rule at el-'Amarneh.

The second type of block pattern appears to have a different structural origin. One of the earliest examples of it is probably on the British Museum coffin B.M. 41752. Here the rectangles of the border consist of a series of coloured strips running in the same sense as the border itself, and the dividing strips are equally numerous. Moreover, the border is disposed along the edges, and overlaps in every case both pieces of the coffin which meet along any edge. It thus clearly represents the supports both vertical and horizontal of the building which the coffin imitates. It is obviously comparable with the early pillars or posts of Egyptian architecture consisting of bound bundles of reed, which supply the forms of stone columns for all periods. The thin

strips of our border represent the binding. The variety of colours used in the border is no embarassment to this interpretation, since we find papyrus skiffs with their ends similarly bound together exhibiting the same variety of colours. In the Seventeenth Dynasty this type of block pattern appears on the rib which runs down the centre of the *rîshi* coffins and coarser painted examples of the same type (Pl. XVI, A). It is easy to see that in the earliest examples of these first attempts at anthropoid coffins, which were developed from the helmet-like masks of cartonage found in Middle Kingdom burials, a midrib would be required to keep the cartonage in position. Thus here again this type

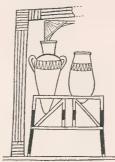


Fig. 21.

of block pattern has a structural significance. By the middle of the Eighteenth Dynasty, when this border is as common as the older type, a careful differentiation in their uses can be noted in the tombs, and this distinction was carefully followed in the houses at el-'Amarneh. Wherever a block pattern is used to decorate a support or its equivalent, such as architrave, lintel, or upright post, either of wood or mud, the later type of design was used; while the older is kept for borders pure and simple, without any structural significance. (See below, pp. 54, 56 ff.) An excellent example of the bound reed support is shown in the little shelter in the tomb of Apy (Fig. 21).

Finally, we should note the black and white rectangular borders, which frequently frame the later form of block pattern, and seem to be a fairly late

DAVIES, Two Ramesside Tombs at Thebes. Tytus Memorial Series, vol. V., Pl. XXXIV.

development. So simple a geometrical design would hardly need any explanation as to its origin, but, as has already been stated, the chances are always in favour of an Egyptian design owing this to the imitation of some natural form or primitive technique. Black and white check pattern is common enough from the earliest times in designs which are clearly in imitation of or derived from textiles or basket-work, and the Egyptians certainly showed no hesitation in adapting a design till they had transformed it from all semblance of its origin. It would be nothing to take a strip of a surface checker design and make a narrow border of it.

The torus and cavetto moulding so familiar in Egyptian art are commonly used in the houses at el-'Amarneh. They need no description, however, though their architectural function in the houses will be noted more fully below.

Naturalistic Designs.—A period which is chiefly known for its naturalism in art may well be expected to produce its most interesting designs in this direction. In fact, it is here for the first time that we meet designs which can be said to be novel, or at any rate of recent origin. Even so they are very restricted in form, and can be divided into two types so far as the houses are concerned—(a) friezes, and (b) garland patterns.

The friezes are simpler (as a rule), and on the whole can show a longer history. The floral designs are often closely combined with block patterns or torus and cavetto or both, but in this case are sometimes found in a form that can be traced back at least as far as the beginning of the New Kingdom, namely a single strip of lotus petals. The lotus petal border, as found in these houses, has indeed progressed very little beyond the simple chaplet which gave it its origin.

The more complicated floral frieze follows the forms of the garlands to be discussed immediately, and must be considered a secondary adaptation of that very naturalistic design. The simple floral frieze was an old-time Egyptian *motif*, as has been said; to develop it with the aid of the rich design of the garland was an obvious step, and one which followed so quickly on the invention of the garland that it would be impossible for us to say, from the remains at el-'Amarneh, which was the earlier, were it not for archaeological data in favour of the garland.

A third type of floral frieze, almost always combined with garland or straight frieze, also goes back to early history—the inverted lotus flower and bud arranged alternately. The bud is sometimes omitted. This design is never found in the houses in a form which is almost a rule in earlier

¹ The derivation of these from corner-posts of bound reed and the frieze of palm-branches respectively is absolutely convincing. See Petrie, Egyptian Decorative Art, 97 ff.

Eighteenth Dynasty Theban tombs, namely lotus flowers alternately with bunches of grapes instead of lotus buds.¹

It was not that bunches of grapes were unknown at Akhetaten as a decorative motive. Far from it. The favourite ceiling decoration in the Northern Palace was a trellis with grape-vine climbing over it, and with large purple clusters of grapes regularly spaced over the whole design. The bunch of grapes can be found too on pottery (there combined with lotus), and on painted tiles in the same combination.² In the houses, too, it was very commen, but in marked realism; for the bunches were imitated in the round, made of fayence, and cut so as to fit on to rafters, or perhaps only cornices.³ This is of course an imitation of the vine-clad shelter to be seen all over Egypt to-day. In the Middle Kingdom the single row of grape clusters is regularly found as a top border decoration, and the full painted ceiling imitating the whole trellis design of fact comes in with the Eighteenth Dynasty.

Returning to the el-'Amarneh houses, it looks as if the old painted design of a single row as a top border was not sufficiently realistic or naturalistic for their taste, with the result that the fayence bunch was invented. This suggests that in combining lotus and grapes, as they did in the earlier part of the Eighteenth Dynasty, the Egyptians had invented a design which did not tally with any fact in nature, and which was therefore abhorrent to the el-'Amarneh artists. On the other hand, the house by its structural nature (e.g. wooden roofing beams) lent itself to the disposal of fayence grapes, whereas the tomb with the smooth surface of its stone walls did not; and it may well be that Eighteenth Dynasty houses had for some time had the fayence bunches attached to the rafters, while in the tomb they were content with painted copies, and even to combine on the walls designs which in the house belonged to separate surfaces—walls and rafters.

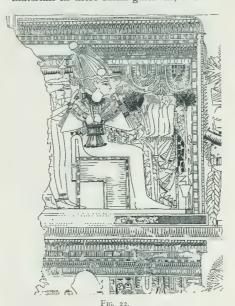
The Garlands.—Nothing is so striking or so attractive in the house decoration at el-'Amarneh as the garlands of flowers and fruits which formed the central *motif* of the decoration of the reception-rooms. That these were the focus of the decoration, and not merely details in a general design, seems to me certain from the size of the majority of the garlands. In this the reconstruction of Dr. Borchardt and his colleagues is, to my mind, misleading.⁴ For the fragments found by them have been taken to represent the remains of several

For the development of this design in Theban tombs, see MACKAY in Ancient Egypt, 1921, p. 39.

PEET-WOOLLEY, op. cit., Pl. IX, fig. 1. Petrie, Egyptian Decorative Art, p. 80.

⁴ Criticism here and in the following pages would seem ungrateful if I did not add that my debt to the published reconstructions of previous workers at el-'Amarneh is far greater than the references in the text imply.

small garlands rather than one or two large ones.' It would be rash to criticise a reconstruction from material which one has not seen, but at the same time it must be pointed out that it is extremely hard to gauge the size of the design or its exact curves—even, at times, whether main lines are curved or straight—from small fragments, as the writer knows from personal experience; and it may well be that Borchardt's earliest material was of this kind, and that he was led from a priori considerations to reconstruct his materials in these small garlands, and that having once done so the idea became



fixed. At all events, the material found by the Egypt Exploration Society is almost all in favour of much larger garlands 2-say from a metre to a metre and half at the top-and there would be little room for more than one such garland on any given wall, after allowing for doors and niches and a certain proportion of framing. Moreover, the larger the garlands the fewer of them, obviously, can be reconstructed from a given amount of material. Once it is granted that only one garland adorned a wall, it is clear that this decoration becomes the central motif of the general design. Its shape demands that it should be literally in the centre of the wall, and its variety of colour

and its mosaic-like detail of drawing give it a brilliance that the plain colour-washes of doors and niches, even taking into account hieroglyphs and adoration scenes, denied to the rest of the painted surfaces. Archaeologically, too, the interest of these garlands has hardly been appreciated; for though it is recognised that they are nothing but the garlands found on

¹ Cf. Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pls. v and vi, where garlands are shown hanging from the rafters of kiosks. (See Fig. 22, above=Davies, op. cit., Pl. v.)

^{*} The one exception is the almost complete garland from the Central Room of House R. 44. I, found by Professor Griffith in 1924. There was, however, no other garland material from this room, so that in spite of its small size this fragment does not justify a series of garlands on a single wall.

the coffins of New Kingdom mummies in hundreds, it has not been noted that the majority of the designs thus found are all extremely debased forms of the el-'Amarneh house decoration and belong to the Nineteenth Dynasty and after; while very few indeed may be found approaching the latter either in naturalism or richness of colour, and, moreover, those few all belong to the end of the Eighteenth Dynasty. (See Pl. XVI. I have to thank the Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum for permission to publish these photographs.) They are worth examining in some detail.

The garlands consist of from three to eight or nine concentric rows of flowers, petals, fruits and seeds, disposed roughly to form a semicircle (Pls. XVIII, XIX, XX). All these can be identified, and equated with the fayence imitations in the round—some typical examples of these are shown for comparison in Pl. XV—which are so common at this period, and, which is far more interesting, with the actual plant remains found on garlands placed on royal coffins at the time of their burial.

The commonest flower was the blue lotus petal (Nymphaea caerulea). White at the base and gradually changing to deep blue at the tip, it is always placed on a deep blue background which appears between the tips. This represents an under-layer of cornflowers, which was often bound up with the petals.² The olive, willow, and wild celery leaf were also frequently used as a backing in the actual garlands of the mummies, but are not distinguishable in the painted representations. Very frequently the petal has a thick crescent or circular daub of paint on its base, either of red or red and green alternately, or green and blue alternately. This perhaps represents the folded olive-leaf which was regularly used as a holder for the petals in the garlands. Its original purpose was perhaps unknown to the artist in many cases, to account for the use of red. But even at el-'Amarneh it is easy to see a falling off in the naturalism which was so exactly sought for at the beginning of the city's life.

^{&#}x27;No complete collars of these were known until the discovery of eight among Tut'ankhamen's jewellery (Carter-Mace, Tomb of Tut. ankh. Amen, I, 173), one of which is figured (op. cit., xxxxx), and shows six concentric rows of petals and fruits. It is noticeable that leaves, which are present both in the fayence collars and in the actual floral garlands, are absent from the wall paintings.

[[]El-'Amarneh has for the first time yielded a perfect example of these fayence collars this season, 1928–29, It shows a greater variety of pendants than that from Tut'ankhamen's tomb described above, and is particularly interesting in that it had the two inlaid fayence lotus flowers as end-pieces which we see represented on the shoulders of coffins (see Pl. XVI, figs. B and c).—ED.]

Only the better examples of painting represent the petal-tips of the cornflower between the points of the lotus petal (see the fragments in Pl. XVIII, A). These, however, prove that the less accurate representations refer to the same original. Lotus petals and cornflowers alone formed the garlands of earlier mummies, for which see [Schiaparelli,] Relaxione sui lavori della Miss. Arch. It. in Egitto. La Tomba Intatta dell' Architetto Cha, fig. 25 and p. 64 ff.

³ In execution rather than intention;—the best talent was migrating to Thebes.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the cornflower, the second most common design in the garland. This is depicted with green seed-vessel and blue flower, hanging upside-down, as are all the flowers and fruits. In the rough technique of these mural paintings, the idea of drawing every one of scores of these cornflowers separately was ridiculous, and in fact the painters soon learnt to think of the garland design as a series of bands of colour, each representing a fruit or flower, upon which he subsequently drew a series of very abbreviated outlines.1 In the case of the cornflower, which consisted of two colours one above the other, it was easy to dissociate the blue and the green. This frequently happened, with the result that the outlines of the seed-vessels often did not fit on to the outlines of the flowers themselves; and in many cases the outlines were left out altogether. Thus two adjacent bands of blue and green, the green above, may always be taken to represent a row of cornflowers. The same technique was often used in painting the lotus petals, a white band being left at the top and a dark blue band painted below, though here we find at times careful shading of the white into the blue. In the roughest examples the outlines were then drawn in and nothing else given as indication of the different tones between petal-tips and background. In better examples the background was darkened, leaving the blue of the original band indicating the petal-tips lighter.

A third common band consists of red rectangular blobs on a yellow background. These can be identified with fayence equivalents, which in some cases have a small yellow or purple marking at the tip, and which are clearly poppy petals. The yellow background probably represents the papyrus backing to which the real flowers were sewn in a funerary garland. In a few cases a more realistic poppy petal or perhaps whole flower is shown, with black spots imitating the markings of the flower.²

A fourth type is less common, but still to be found in most of the larger garlands. It consists of the fruits of the mandrake, usually touching one another; but in the most naturalistic example known to me (it is noticeable that this is the only garland which makes the blobs at the base of the lotus petals blue and green instead of red), the fruits are spaced out over a background of large dark blue dots on a red field (Pl. XX).³ In

¹ A common convention for the flower of the cornflower was to indicate the space between the flowers only, by means of a yellow dab of colour (perhaps representing the yellow papyrus backing of the whole garland on a mummy), and to leave out altogether the outline of the flower, even when the contour of the seed-vessel was indicated in black line. (See Pl. XV, figs. 15 and 18.)

⁹ All the forms of petal and flower found in the painted garlands exist also in fayence. The full figure of the flower is found also very commonly in bouquets and in water scenes. In the paintings this is confined to the duck swags (see below).

³ Cf. PEET-WOOLLEY, op. cit., Pl. xv, fig. 1.

the other cases the background is usually red.¹ The fruit itself is yellow, and always shows the green sepals. In the naturalistic example quoted above the fruit has a thick outline in light red, and this can only be meant to represent the rind, for, as Professor Newberry points out, in the actual garlands the mandrake is sliced in half.² The painter, although unable to omit the sepals, was attempting, not unsuccessfully, to show the fruit in section. The thinner garlands were usually arranged in the order lotus petal, poppy, cornflower, reading downwards. The larger ones repeated this design and inserted, either between lotus and poppy or poppy and cornflower, a single row of mandrake fruit. But many variations of the order were practised.

In addition two very similar, but probably distinct, bands are found, usually above all the rows of flowers and fruits.

The first is a band of red colour spotted more or less regularly with dark blue (in the best examples), or blue and yellow, or green and yellow berries. It is usually found at the top of the garland, that is, it is the first band of the fruits and petals, and separates them from the semicircular field in the centre of the whole design, which is unfortunately so rarely found intact in our excavations.

The second is a checker pattern of alternate red and black berries or blobs or even squares, usually two lines of each colour, enclosed between black lines, and all on a white ground. A common reduction of this is a single line of alternate white and black squares between black lines.

These two designs have probably affected each other, and it seems that the painter was not always certain which he was supposed to be executing. Perhaps it would be better to say that he has confused their origins. These are, we think, clear: the first must certainly go back to the bands of woody nightshade berries recognised by Newberry; 3 while the second, which occurs very regularly immediately above petal bands either in its full or its abbreviated form, as certainly indicated the folded strips of papyrus and olive-leaf which Newberry notes as going under and over alternate petals. 4 This would obviously give a checker pattern such as we have here.

Allusion has been made to the semicircular field left between the garland proper and the frieze, whether of inverted lotus and bud design or more formal type, which was painted above it. Actual remains of this area are rarely found in any quantity, even where the garland itself can be restored in

id. * Ioid.

¹ Though the fayence examples, made complete with background attached, have yellow between them.

[&]quot; In Carter, Tomb of Tut.ankh. Amen, II, Appendix III.

full. The evidence seems to favour a red background, however, and one motive for its decoration is certain, namely, a group of lotus flowers and buds (Pl. XVIII, A).¹ From the use of the garland design on pottery we may also guess that a bunch of grapes might serve as this centre-piece;² but the use of the udat eye³ in this connection seems to me less probable, simply because it would be somewhat out of keeping with the floral tone of the whole design. The pottery designs which have it are far more conventional than those on the walls, and display many tricks which would not be tolerated there.

The garlands thus analysed must have presented a very brave show in their proper place, between frieze and white dado, with a mud-brown background for their foil. To our eyes they need no pendants. Frequently, however, the larger examples were elaborated by the addition of smaller swags of duck attached, and the reconstructions show that these were by no means unsatisfactory additions to the design. (See Pls. XVII, XIX, XX.)

In their report of their first year's work the German excavators spoke of still-life scenes of birds hung between the garlands of flowers, but gave no indication of their nature or arrangement. In M.D.O.G., 52, the birds, still said to hang between the garlands, are compared to the well-known bunches of birds on the columns from el-'Amarneh. Apparently, however, Borchardt did not feel justified in restoring the General Rarmôse's house with the birds included, nor is there any other sign that he could place this part of the decoration. His last pronouncement on the subject, which is also his fullest, though giving a little more detail of his evidence for these bird swags, shows that he was no further with their disposal in the picture. Moreover, it was written in a non-Egyptological paper,4 and thus escaped the notice of our excavators when writing up the results of the first two seasons' work of the Egypt Exploration Society at el-'Amarneh for the City of Akhenaten, I. This was unfortunate, for with their additional material they already had the clue to a possible reconstruction, which later finds (1923-4 and especially 1926-7) have actually provided.

The evidence produced by the seasons 1920-22 was fragmentary in the extreme, but highly important. Recognisable fragments of ducks were found in the house of Ra'nûfer.⁵ But the fragment of the top edge of the floral border which surrounded them was misunderstood, and the main duck fragments were arranged opposing one another and separated by a vertical band of checker. Actually the left-hand fragment of the design balances the green duck

^{*} The return of the spotted border along the top (diameter of the semicircular field) seems certain. The original fragments are in the British Museum.

This occurs on an unpublished pot from el-'Amarneh.
Zeitschrift für Bauwesen, 1916, S. 509 ff.

³ PEET-WOOLLEY, op. cit., Pl. XLV, fig. 2. ³ PEET-WOOLLEY, op. cit., pp. 9, 43, Pl. XV.

on the right, as may be seen from the new reconstruction (Pl. XX). The poppies, which are almost identical with those from the garland in Pl. XIX, were taken to be butterflies, and this no doubt led to a misconception of the whole picture. The presence of butterflies on flowers would suggest something much more like the nature-studies of the pavement, or the paintings in the North-eastern Court of the Northern Palace, than "still-life" scenes such as Borchardt rightly conceived them to be. It is to be supposed that Newton deliberately rejected the idea of the formal duck bunch, known to him from the pillars," owing to this interpretation of the poppies. This in turn led him away from the very small, but (once comprehended) very definite, clue afforded by some larger fragments from the same house, and which indeed must almost certainly be part of the same design as that from which the duck fragments come. From these fragments Newton was able to restore a very fine garland and frieze, across which ran two braces. Attached to the end of the braces 2 are fragments of a duck's web foot in each case, and in one part of its tail. (They are easily recognisable if one knows what to look for; but the idea of attaching bunches of duck by this type of brace to a floral garland is by no means an obvious one.) Moreover, the presence of a tail, and two feet which can be fitted on either side of the tail, shows that the braces must run downwards and inwards and not as Newton has placed them. The German example of such a pair of braces held at their extremity a typical pectoral, such as is regularly found on coffins wearing painted garlands in the Nineteenth Dynasty. There was nothing strange in this; but no amount of ingenuity could have seen in the fragment of the ducks' extremities part of a pectoral. So the duck swag still eluded us.

In the northern part of the town, where the decoration, like the houses themselves, is becoming more meagre, the Expedition of 1926–7 was yet lucky enough to find two lots of duck material in much larger quantities than had been obtained before. There was ample evidence from House V. 37. I (see above, p. 35 ff.) for the arrangement of the bunch of ducks in the manner already guessed by Borchardt. But what was of far greater importance was the existence in each case of fragments which showed the actual connection between the ducks and the main floral garland. This may be seen from Pls. XVII, XIX, XX. In neither case was there any trace of braces.

The certainty that there was one swag of ducks and not two for the garland from Ra'nûfer's house has already been shown. The question arises again here, though in a less acute form, in the absence of braces. Judging

See Petrie, Tell el Amarna, Pl. vii.

^{*} PEET-WOOLLEY, op. cit., Pl. xv, fig. 4.

from the quantity of fragments alone, those from the ante-chamber of V. 37. I, seem to justify two swags of duck to one garland. (That there were two swags in the room is certain from the remains: the only question is whether there is enough material to make more than one garland.) On the other hand, in the North Loggia there was nothing to justify our supplying a second swag of duck. As the matter stands, then, it is still uncertain whether two swags of duck could be attached to one big garland, or whether the artist could exercise his choice in the matter. The probabilities, however, are in favour of the single swag only, and it is certainly the more attractive design. But in either case the close relationship between duck and garland is now proved, and we must consider Borchardt wrong in trying to hang the bunches of duck between the garlands as independent or intermediary features in the decoration of the wall.

Scenes.—All the decoration discussed so far has been in the nature of design rather than of picture. It has already been stated, however, that the niches sometimes contained scenes of adoration. These consisted of a figure of the King accompanied by the Queen and sometimes one or two of his daughters, adoring the Aten or receiving life from the god, or making offerings to him. Such scenes are never found in the houses except in these niches, or carved in stone on the sides of small shrines. They are essentially religious in character, and their decorative effect must be considered to be entirely secondary to their religious significance. On the other hand, the niches were by no means always so decorated, and, in fact, the majority that have been found consist simply of three vertical coloured panels. As the el-'Amarneh house received its typical form the niche became commoner, and in the northern suburb of the town there have been no examples of religious decoration or scenes of any kind in the niches, which were used solely for the purpose of architectural balance. It was felt that if there was a door in one of two opposite walls and not in the other, then the blank must be filled in with a niche. And as doors were usually towards the end of a wall rather than in the middle, each wall also was required to be balanced up by a niche (always failing another door) at its other end, and this in its turn demanded another niche in the opposite wall.

Apart from these religious scenes, whose purpose was not primarily decorative, there were no scenes of any kind nor representations of human beings, even in the most formal way, in the houses proper. The Germans found fragments of a religious scene in a chapel in the grounds of a private house, but that clearly is another matter. The famous drawing, now in Oxford, of the princesses at the feet of the King and Queen (Fig. 12, p. 16),

has frequently been referred to as coming from a house. But although Petrie does call the building "House 13" on the page of his book on which he describes the paintings in detail, even he himself refers to it later as a palace, and a glance at his plan shows that it cannot conceivably be a private house. We may be quite certain that we shall never find anything like the standard of workmanship displayed in the painting of the princesses, nor anything approaching its *genre*, on the walls of the houses at el-'Amarneh.

§4. THE DISPOSITION OF THE DECORATIVE MOTIVES

The decoration of the houses at el-'Amarneh was so regular and so stereotyped that one can safely lay down general rules, only referring here and there to specific arrangement of some of the less common designs, such as the duck swags, in certain houses.

EXTERIOR.—On the whole the evidence seems to point to a total lack of decoration on the outside of the houses, with one possible exception. Judging from the few representations we have in tombs and elsewhere, the whole building was whitewashed-at all events in the case of the better-class housesgiving an effect which is frequently sought in Mediterranean lands to-day. Certain architectural features might be coloured. Those houses which afforded stone entrances, with the owners' names and titles graven on them, must almost certainly have displayed more colour to the world than the yellow wash of the door-jambs and the blue filling of the incised inscriptions. Such a doorway would need some superstructure, if only a painted torus and cavetto moulding. There is important, but not conclusive, evidence for an even more imposing façade in a few cases. Two houses from the Egypt Exploration Society's work, and one from the Deutsche Orient-Gesellschaft's,2 all afforded material for the restoration of the same type of façade decoration in the neighbourhood of the main entrance. The decoration consisted of a horizontal beam moulding, with large block pattern motive surmounted by a deep frieze of the floral type, and above that torus and cavetto moulding. (Cf. Pl. XXI for the beam surmounted by a single band of lotus petals, and Pl. XVIII, B for the deep floral frieze over a simple black and white block pattern.) All this was of painted mud plaster and seems to have adhered directly to the wall. In each case the entrance was on the north side of the

¹ But see the article by DAVIES referred to on p. 33, note 1.

^e The House of Ra^enûfer (see above, p. 48, note 5), House V. 37. 1, and House Y. 53. 1 (Zeitschrift für Banwesen, 1916, Pl. L, Abb. 5).

house, and owing to the custom of building the entrance lobby outside the main square of the building, with the steps leading up to it along the side of the north wall, any frieze there was over the entrance might easily fall somewhere in the middle of the ground immediately in front of the wall or window of the North Loggia. Consequently, whenever this plaster has been found it has been associated with the North Loggia as much as with the entrance to the house.

If we assume that the plaster came from the outside of the North Loggia, we must suppose that it ran the whole length of the wall, as anything less would look very awkward. This does not fit in with the statement made above, for which there is very sound reason, that, generally speaking, the house was not decorated on the outside. Nor does the amount of plaster found suggest that there was ever so much of the frieze in existence.

On the other hand, as has been often pointed out, walls can fall outwards as well as inwards, and plaster from the inside of a room may well be found lying right outside the house. Unfortunately, we know so little of the real nature of the window or opening that is generally postulated in the wall of the North Loggia, that it is difficult even to hypothesize about a possible position for the plaster on the inside of the wall. If there was merely a long window of the grating type known to us, the frieze of mud might be an elaborate cornice running along the top of the window only, assuming this to occupy only a part of the length of the wall. But in that case, the depth and size of the frieze from House V. 37. I, at all events, would leave no room, even if the loggia were lofty, for the proportionate space of bare wall above the cavetto, which would be necessary to suit Egyptian taste. Indeed, in this particular case it would seem that an outer doorway would be necessary to accommodate the cavetto cornice.

Thus we are brought back to the conclusion that the plaster design in question is the frieze from the entrance itself, the beam with block pattern forming the actual architrave of the doorway, above which the floral design carried the eye to the torus and cavetto cornice. This cornice would not be as high as the house itself, but would abut on to the wall, as we see in numerous illustrations. The possibility, however, that the frieze came from the outer wall of the North Loggia, though unlikely, must be kept in mind, in view of our uncertain knowledge of the nature of that wall.

INTERIOR.—Inside the house an examination of the material quickly shows that it was the custom to concentrate the rich decoration in the public parts

of the building, though this tendency towards window dressing is more manifest in the later part of the town, as we should expect. Thus the entrance lobbies, North Loggia (and less frequently the second loggia, where one existed) and the Central Hall received the bulk of the designs we have studied. In the better houses of the earlier part of the town the private dwelling-room, the miniature central hall, was also gaily painted. Another room which sometimes received more decoration than we should expect is a small apartment off the Central Hall, sometimes called the master's study. For the rest, niches and plain coloured walls sufficed.

The entrance lobby or lobbies were hardly large enough to take niches, but they might receive garlands with swags of duck hung from a frieze of inverted lotus in the middle of the wall; or doorways surmounted with beams painted in block pattern and straight floral friezes above. With the North Loggia and the Central Hall—on the whole the North Loggia seems to have been the richer of the two—we come on the full flood of interior decoration. For about one metre from the ground all the walls were painted with white over the dull brown tone of the mud. These surfaces were, however, so broken up with doors and niches that any suggestion of monotony must have vanished without a thought of the frieze and garlands that were to adorn the upper half of the wall.

The exact position of the garlands is not always easy to ascertain. It is certain that they hung close up to the ceiling, which was doubtless edged all round by the frieze of inverted lotus and bud which usually surmounted the garlands. The tendency to surmount doors with deep friezes and cornices must have made it impossible to put garlands over them, and the number of doors and corresponding niches in many of the larger houses would certainly restrict the possible places for garlands very considerably. The ground-plan of any room is as good a guide as any to the position of the garlands, if we remember that these must have gone between doors rather than over them, must certainly have been arranged symmetrically, and can never have been numerous in any case.

A straight frieze, especially if not too deep, might of course run round all four walls of a room, and is sometimes found—not necessarily so extensively—in the absence of garlands.³

¹ See p. 56.

^a [In the season of 1928–29 we found in several houses of the northern suburb that the beams of the ceiling in the master's bedroom were covered with plaster painted orange, in the way usual for joists in loggias and central rooms. The ceiling in these cases was white. See below, p. 56, note 1.—Ed.]

³ See Journal of Egyptian Archaeology, XIII, Pl. xlvii, i.

Doorways and Niches.—A glance at the plans of the town site will show that in the larger houses doorways played a considerable part in the architectural arrangement of the room. It is all the more disappointing, therefore, that we have so little material for the reconstruction of the finer specimens. In general the doorway itself was of painted mud brick like the rest of the room. The door—in every case vanished, though occasionally leaving traces of paint—was of wood painted red, or red and yellow in panels to match the niches. There was usually a stone sill to take the pointed pivot which bore the weight of the door and on which it turned. The architrave was apparently sometimes of mud brick, but must have frequently consisted of a single wooden beam. This was decorated with the block pattern, sometimes on its three exposed surfaces, sometimes only on the soffit.

The insides of the door-jambs—if the side-pieces of a doorway which are continuous with the wall itself can be called jambs—were painted white at the bottom, as a rule, and turned to yellow or red about a metre from the ground. In poorer examples this colour was continued along the soffit instead of the block pattern.

A few examples of stone doorways exist. These were painted red, and were sometimes divided by narrow yellow lines into two or three vertical panels. Doubtless these lines owe their origin to the division of the jamb into vertical columns for inscriptional purposes, for examples are found with laudatory epithets and titles of the householder in yellow paint.

It is not unusual to find a double doorway between two single doorways leading from the North Loggia into the Central Hall. These, we may be certain, were inscribed, if not from top to bottom, at least on the upper part of their surface, as in the house of Nakht, where the background was yellow instead of red. The insides of these stone door-jambs were decorated with a broad variety of block pattern (old style) running vertically up the jamb, which is comparable with the borders with alternate bands of red and blue round the panels of the North-eastern Court rooms in the Northern Palace, and is therefore not a true block pattern. The German excavators considered the evidence in one case warranted a restoration of the whole length of the jamb in this scheme; our own excavations have never suggested this, but rather that the bottom of the jamb was white like the surrounding walls.

There is ample evidence for some sort of entablature over these doorways. The simple cavetto, restored by Newton in Nakht and by Borchardt in Ra^rmôse, is the minimum, and there seems good reason for

assuming in all houses of that size at least a narrow frieze design of block pattern and floral motives, surmounted with the torus and cavetto moulding—all in mud plaster—above the plain doorway. In such cases the block pattern would no doubt have covered the three sides of the architrave, whether of stone, wood, or brick.

A superstructure of an entirely different type is also to be assumed. In the House of Ra'môse the German Expedition found a double niche instead of a double door (it stood between a door and a niche on the same side of-the room), divided by a moulding representing a papyrus column. This and some fragments of moulded hawks' heads, which had fallen from above, emboldened Borchardt to make the remarkably full restoration of the central niche in Zeitschrift für Bauwesen, 1916, Pl. 50, Abb. 1. If it is daring, it is none the less reasonable. It is based on the niches from the chapels in the Temple of Seti I at Abydos, a building very little later in date than those at el-'Amarneh. Its essential feature, an imitation grille window over a doorway, is known from the Old Kingdom; and an excellent example of the same design, with slight variations in detail, is supplied over a doorway to a chapel from the time of Tuthmosis III in the Tomb of Puyemre' at Thebes.

Apart from the close connection between niches and doors demonstrable in several different ways, there can be no question that in such a case as this, where the double niche lies between two door-spaces—one an actual door, the other a niche—that its character is that of a dummy door. Architecturally, at all events, it must have appealed as a doorway. It follows that the superstructure that was fit for this double niche was also proper for a double door in similar circumstances. We must conclude, therefore, that a probable superstructure for a real doorway was a grille window of a design suitable to the style of interior decoration in the houses as we know it. From the example of Puyemrer we may assume that this design is also suitable to a single door in an important house.

It is not possible to do more than guess at the details of this window grille. Religious motives do not appear in house decoration, except in the very restricted sphere and character of the niches, whose subject (where there was one) seems always to have been much the same—namely, the familiar scene of the Royal Family worshipping the Aten. In view of the remarks just made on the close relationship between door and niche, there is no reason why such a restricted religious motive should not enter into the decoration of the doorway. Borchardt has assumed this for the niche (with very little variation from the Abydos example), and it is equally possible for the

superstructure of the doorway. The more emblematic design of Puyemre', with its hieroglyphic symbols for stability, prosperity, etc., is perhaps less natural to the style of el-'Amarneh, but cannot altogether be ruled out. We can only hope for more evidence from future excavations.

Ceilings and Floors.—Very little evidence indeed exists for the ceilings, which were probably left in plain mud. That of the North Loggia in the House of Nakht, however, was painted blue, which is reminiscent of the blue ceilings with stars of many Theban tombs, in itself perhaps an indication

that originally these domestic buildings were open to the sky."

A problem arises in connection with ceilings, which is emphasized by a find in House R. 44. 1, excavated by Professor Griffith in 1924. Two wooden logs, squared off with mud plaster and then painted on three sides with block pattern, lay in a room called for convenience the master's study, in such a position as to suggest that they were architraves from two doors. The difficulty about this explanation was that one at least was considerably longer than the space between the door-jambs required, and one wondered if they could be beams. On the whole it is more probable that they were in fact lintels to the doors, with considerable extension beyond the door-jambs each side. But if the beams of a ceiling were exposed, i.e., not flush with the ceiling itself, as in the normal roof would be the case, it is reasonable to assume some decoration in the better houses, and none is more likely than the block pattern.2 It is not impossible that such beams ran along the edge of the ceiling at the top of the wall, and that they were especially utilised as the architectural excuse for hanging festoons. This would not hold, however, in the case of beams painted on three sides.

Floors, which consisted of tile-like bricks covered with a layer of mudplaster, seem also occasionally to have been whitewashed and even painted. In House R. 44. 1, there was evidence of several layers of paint, at least one

of which was blue.

Windows.-Windows also are comparatively scarce. They have been

^{&#}x27; [In House V. 36. 6, excavated in 1929, the ceiling of the North Loggia was painted with a tartan pattern of red, green and blue on a yellow ground, cut apparently into oblongs by broad bands of blue and red, and by a rosette pattern. The same rosette pattern, on a smaller scale, occurred in the lobby between the loggia and the front door of the house.—Ed.]

^{* [}This suggestion of Mr. Glanville's has been strikingly confirmed by our excavations in 1928–29, in which it has been possible to ascertain in a number of houses that the rafters of the ceiling were indeed exposed, and covered with painted plaster. Over the beams were laid stems of palm leaves, which were also plastered. The ceiling was painted white and the white covered the beams for a narrow strip where they touched the ceiling and also where they entered the walls. The beams were painted on their three exposed sides with a plain orange wash, in the smaller rooms which were roofed in one span; as also were the secondary rafters which rested, in the larger rooms, on a main beam supported by a pillar. The main beam showed the block pattern on its three sides.—Ed.]

found of stone, rarely, and more recently of mud. In the latter examples the mud is moulded roughly square in section round a thin stick.' They are all of the grille type regularly found in all Egyptian architecture. It is doubtful if many rooms of a house were provided with windows, the only essential room being the Central Hall, which was made higher than the surrounding parts of the building and could thus be supplied with light by clerestory windows, which looked out over the flat roof of the house. It is improbable that more than one or two of these to a side of the room were necessary.

An interesting discovery of the last season's work at el-'Amarneh was the existence of dummy windows. These consisted of moulded mud bars on a mud backing. Incidentally the most elaborate example found was the most brilliantly painted of all the windows, real or dummy. Its decoration was all of block pattern, and it was surmounted with a narrow floral frieze and torus and cavetto mould. (See Pl. XXI.) The normal bars of a grille were red on the inside, orange (yellow?) on the sides, and white outside.

It is not our business here to attempt a description of the furniture, fittings, etc., which went towards the general decorative effect of the room. But it is legitimate to note the colour of the wooden columns, none of which are left, but fragments of whose plaster have been found. They appear to have been always red, not only from plaster fragments, but also from drops and smears of the red paint on the limestone bases which are still in so many cases in place. One instance occurs of garlands on these columns.²

^{&#}x27; [We have now some reason to believe that the windows were surrounded on the inside by a frame of coloured mud, like that described above in connection with the doorways.—Ed.]

^{*} PEET-WOOLLEY, op. cit., p. 26.

CHAPTER III

THE PAINTINGS OF THE NORTHERN PALACE

By N. DE GARIS DAVIES

THE BUILDING.—The building which we call the Northern Palace of Akhenaten is clear in its ground-plan, though very little is known of its elevation (Pl. XIV). Its clearance afforded few signs of occupation, and it had unfortunately lost most of its stonework and therefore of its texts. Scraps of the latter, however, show that the name of Merytaten, the eldest daughter of the king is added to his on an erased surface, whereas that of the queen is nowhere found, exactly as it is in the pleasure-palace of Maruaten."

In form it consists of a square enclosure with an outer court in its westeast axis, beyond this an inner court occupied by a great pool, and behind that two hypostyle halls, a throne-room, and other chambers, which look like the quarters of the king. On the north side of the enclosure there are again three divisions: (1) a court with altars for worship, and nine small rooms flanking them on two sides; (2) an enclosure for oxen and antelopes, as we learn from reliefs on their mangers; (3) a courtyard with a garden in the centre, a colonnade round this on three sides, and, under this, a series of little rooms, those on the west side at least appearing to be fowl-pens, from their decoration.2 One of two suites of two rooms each on the north side has its mural paintings preserved, and on this account it is styled in this volume the Green Room. The south third of the building is also divided into three main spaces: (1) a symmetrically arranged series of rooms and colonnades, the purpose of which is not yet clear; (2) a complicated group of rooms which have the appearance of officials' quarters or offices; (3) a space which may possibly have contained a vineyard and stalls, to balance the garden and fowl-houses on the other An important point is that a corridor, running from north to south through the middle of the king's suite, terminates at each end in a short flight of steps, from which one could overlook the garden and aviary on the north and the corresponding spectacle, whatever it was, on the south. For both of them seem to have been spots which it was a pleasure and interest for the king to survey. So much was needed to be said in order to make

WOOLLEY in City of Akhenaten, I, pp. 123, 124. The North-eastern Court of the Plan, Pl. XIV.

future references intelligible without having recourse to the provisional accounts of the palace given by the late Mr. Newton and Professor Whittemore.'

The "Green Room."—This room lies on the north side of the enclosed garden. It is of oblong shape, and its narrow side towards the peristyle court appears to have been occupied by a large window, so broad as to leave only narrow cheeks on each side and having its sill less than two feet above the floor. This is in itself an extraordinary feature, and points to the room having been planned, either to be surveyed in its entirety from the outside, or to command an uninterrupted view of the garden from within. The latter purpose is the more likely, since the room is so placed as to command a direct view down the water-garden unimpeded by the columns of the portico outside, an advantage which no other room in the courtyard could secure. The entrance into the room is through an anteroom of the same size on the west, the doorway being close to the window.

A second unparalleled feature which this little room, eight and a half feet wide by twenty feet long, possesses, is that its wall-surfaces, broken only by the door, and windows were already with the door, and windows were already with the door.

only by the door and window, were adorned with one continuous picture of a decorative sort, the monotony of which is tempered by such an infinite variety of detail as to constitute a "papering" of the most restful tone, over which the eye could wander with ever-renewed delight, whether it was in a mood to dwell on the grace of its line and charming detail, or only to be subject unconsciously to a quiet and sunny influence. The feeling which it was intended to impart was one of happy ease, such as the secluded Isis might have enjoyed in some chosen spot in the marshes of the north, deeply hidden in an expanse of thickly growing reeds. Round the dry promontory of the floor-space the blue waters shimmered, their surface thickly starred with the floating green leaves and ivory cups of the lotus, and with its buds, out of whose emerald wrappings the enfolded beauty is preparing to emerge. The low banks are thick with flowering weeds and grasses, which set a delicate tracery of foliage, interspersed with the little gems of their flowers, against the background of black soil. Above this a palisade of green reeds rises out of the fertile clods, their rigid lines broken up by stems which bend too soon under their heavy heads, break out prematurely into bud, or leave room for unnaturally tall lotuses to splash the green wall with white. The disturbing presence of man is infinitely remote. But joyous life is present; for the silence is softly broken by the chirruping of small birds and the dreamy cooing of rock-pigeons and palm-doves. The black

holy peace nothing hurts or destroys. The pied shrike too is there, again without a victim, and tiny birds nest and bring up their young.

All this is seen among the lower parts of the thicket, which alone are left to us. The balance of the picture as well as the estimated height of the room (about ten feet) demands a considerable extension of the picture upwards. This was probably conceived on traditional lines, though what remains would suggest very great advances in spontaneous grace, delicacy of line, and harmonious yet natural confusion, beyond anything as yet revealed to us in the similar pavement designs of other palaces of the capital.' We must imagine new tiers of spreading umbels, merging irregularly at the top in a bright melée of duck and other birds who wing up and down against a pale sky, while gay butterflies add their smaller beauty to the coloration. Finally, whether to the advantage of the whole to our modern judgment or to its serious impairment, we have to picture it framed above and at the vertical lines of the door and window by a broad border made up of several bands of crude red and blue, with the customary edging of coloured blocks forming an inner line. As the stiff strip of water formed a transition to the floor-line, so this border to the ceiling; acknowledging only too brusquely that this was a painted scene and not an attempted rivalry of nature. framing was not a traditional one, not therefore forced on the artist. feels that he judged it proper, but it is difficult to reconcile oneself to so clamant a surround.2 Ceiling and floor both seem to have been white, an excellent foil to the rich coloration of the walls; for all would be tempered by the dimmed light admitted through the window which, though broad, lay in the shadow of a wide portico, and its reflection would be modified by the deep black dado into which the black bank of the pool merges insensibly.

The end of the room opposite the window preserves only a few traces of its decoration, but sufficient to show that it continued the same theme.³ Traces of painting on the narrow space between window and doorway show the same subject, but, as it is framed by broad borders of red and blue bands, the field left is very narrow.⁴

^{&#}x27; See Steindorff, Blütezeit des Pharaonenreichs, 2nd ed. 1926, Abb. 152; Petrie, Tell el Amarna, Pls. 11 to Iv; Newton in City of Akhenaten, I, Pls. xxxvvIII, xxxxix.

⁹ Such a framing appears round the scenes in the inner room of Tomb 80 at Thebes (reign of Amenophis II), in tombs of el-'Amarneh also (Nos. 1, 2, 4), and was bequeathed to the XIXth Dynasty.

³ Fragments apparently derived from it indicate that the painting here was considerably coarser in execution. As occupants of the room would naturally face the window, and have this wall behind their backs in a poor light, this would affect the whole but little.

⁴ On the west wall here the coloured bands seem to continue below the scene above the dado, while on the south wall there seems to have been a strip of water between the dado and the reeds.

The room exhibits yet a third singular feature. Just above the painted pond and its weedy banks a row of niches has been sunk in the brick walls at a height of about 38 inches above the floor, and above this again, at a height of some 58 inches, is a second series of them, each placed midway between those of the lower row. On the west wall there are thus five in the lower row, six in the upper. On the north wall there were three below and probably two or three above. On the longer east wall there are seven in the lower series, and perhaps eight in the upper. These niches measure about nine inches high, less than six broad, and seven deep. Their walls inside are somewhat irregular and are coloured white. Each is framed at the surface in blue, but at the foot there is painted a small pool of water framed in black. This pool, however, in the case of the lower niches of the west wall is merged in the great piece of water above which they are set, and so does not appear. These recesses serve to emphasize the purely decorative character of the fresco and pleasantly break up the surface of the walls. Their purpose and origin are discussed below.

The decoration, then, of this chamber affords so unusual an appearance as to produce the effect of total novelty, except so far as relates to the actual strip of water at the foot, which is entirely in accord with stubborn Egyptian traditions. The impression conveyed, however, is one of surprise, not that anything so un-Egyptian should be found in Egypt, but that anything so Egyptian could be transformed to this degree by craftsmen sternly ruled by age-long custom. The innovations by which the era of Akhenaten is peculiarly marked attain something like a culmination here. No essential element is new, but almost every element has received such novel handling that it is no wonder if the whole produces an effect of untrammelled creativeness. So far from the work exhibiting similarity to any extraneous art-form (unless it be an absurdly modern kinship), it announces a creative designer, owing his deepest allegiance to Egypt, yet able to find in her service wide freedom, deriving his inspiration where the earliest Egyptian artist had found it, in nature, yet having delivered himself to a surprising degree from the geometrical framework within which Egypt had confined her representations of life since her primitive efforts ceased; achieving indeed something of the success with which nature herself conceals the law and order underlying the freedom of her diverse creations. Foreign art-forms may have been known to the painter, but, if so, they helped him unconsciously to his own ends.

The superior power which the artist has here shown is evidenced in the fact that he chose one of the most hackneyed Egyptian subjects as his theme—the palisade of reeds enlivened by the bird-life which finds a sanctuary

This episode had always been treated as an accessory to a and home there. hunting scene, illustrating the predatory attitude of man to nature. Forming a sundered incident among many, it had been handled in a diagrammatic form; though of late there had been a tendency to seek the beauty of curve, texture-giving detail, and harmonious irregularity within the mechanical outlines.' Here the green paling of reeds is retained, but is made to subserve the artist's need of an unbroken background. In order to cut out at all cost its rigidly ruled lines, some violence has been done to nature. The pink sheaths from which the stalks spring are extended up, rank behind rank, as if the whole thicket was seen in perspective; the buds and umbels are brought down almost to meet them, the lotuses extended upwards with equal impropriety. Hitherto bending stems had needed the excuse of giving way under the weight of a cat, a bird, or a nest. Our artist knew that, though nature may confer rigid uprightness on the single reed, a bed of them is always full of accidents and diversity of growth, and of stems bending under their own weight. He was aware that curves are subject to law as well as straight lines; that simplicity is not the only form of decorum; that right angles, parallels, and simple multiplication and division of distance, are not the only basis of rhythm and harmony; that a decorative manipulation of nature is not the province of the pattern-maker alone. He saw no reason, therefore, why the sheaths of the reeds should appear as ruled zigzags in the midst of abounding life, or why there should be beauty in a bud and a full-blown flower, but none in a half-opened one.

Now all this artificiality had arisen from the choice of a short length of the papyrus field as a symbol of the whole within a larger design; this, as a symbol, having to be made a whole by diagrammatic treatment. Our artist found full justification for a picture of papyrus in its own beauty and decorative nature, and so could use this, and nothing else, as the subject-matter for a picture. Hitherto nature had given pleasure to the Egyptian in little excerpts, one plant or animal by itself and then another; this or that as a daring incident or accident in an artificial landscape, or as the basis of a pattern. Never had he faced a large composition which formed a unity in itself, and was not merely extended by the addition of one item to another in columns or in rows. His law of direct vision and his consequent habit of mental combination of natural parts into a mechanically constructed whole had resulted in his using his brain only on single objects, or parts of objects,

¹ Contrast the picture of the reed-bed in Tomb 60, 82, or 92 at Thebes with that in Tomb 78 or 52 (where the reed-bed is so much more extended than usual), and finally, with that in Tomb 93, which, by the natural depiction of the vegetation, forms the nearest previous approach to our fresco, though a distant one. (Davies, Tomb of Kenamia, Pl. Li.)

and on their insertion in a geometric framework, instead of on wide views with which, after all, the data given him by direct vision could be made compatible, though with more difficulty. This fresco affords perhaps the first example of a real Egyptian composition; one, namely, which composes itself, and in which the work of the creative mind is seen, not in an ingenious conjunction of well-nigh incongruous elements, but as the concealed power to recognise what is harmonious and to give to nature its most effective form, hues and grouping, subject, of course, to the elimination of perspective and shadow.

This first attempt is the best yet known to us, as nearest to nature; but it is not the last. The large compositions of Ramesside war-scenes on temple façades are a proof that a note had been struck here that was not altogether inefficacious. The creator of this picture, presumably, was not moved by reflections on the aims or limitations of art, on past failures or future possibilities, but by the love of nature as such. The liberty of decorating a room devoted to a new and simple end-the sheltered enjoyment of an open-air scene-gave him the opportunity which he has used with such pleasing results. The papyrus thicket was no longer merely a setting for carnage or the joy of the sportsman. It was a joy in itself, and this a fit recreation for kings' daughters—to sit surrounded by memories of waving reeds, gleaming waters and care-free birds. Hence everything fell easily into harmony—the flowering weeds along a muddy marge, the parting sheaths from which the tall stems pushed up, curving this way and that as the buds burst and the umbel grew heavy with seed-bearing stamens, the white lotus gleaming in the green field, the doves happily crooning to themselves, the pigeons sunning their metallic plumage, the kingfisher flashing down into the pool, the nestlings thriving in the quiet, and a few other features of the satisfying monotony of nature. Plants had been shown before on the banks of pools, but the substantial difference between that addition of detail and the loving care expended here on these tiny representations of plant-life over a stretch of more than twenty yards is a measure of the increased love of nature in its simplest forms and of the increased liberty to express it."

^{&#}x27;The plants are executed in green or dull yellow indifferently on the black ground of the banks, and flowers are added in white or red. Our artist may have found the suggestion in a neighbouring necropolis (Newberry, El Bersheh, I, Pl. xxI). Plants are shown on the banks of the pond in Newberry, Life of Rekhmara, Pl. xxI, though too faintly for representation. Cf. Steindorf, Blüteseit des Pharaonenreichs, 2nd ed. 1926, Abb. 106; Davies, Tomb of Kenamün, Pl. LXII; Tomb of Waḥka at Gau. This detail was one of those taken over by Ramesside painters from the revolutionary period (Davies, Two Ramesside Tombs, Pl. xv and p. 20). This is the more interesting in that it seems to prove definitely, either that the designers of el-'Amarneh or their sketch-books were transferred to the Theban schools at the fall of the capital, or else that the Northern Palace was preserved intact into early Ramesside times and served still as a model of the painter's art.

Peculiar characteristics of the scene, other than those already dealt with, call for attention.

The Birds.—The birds whose presence so enlivens the forest of stems are restricted to a few species. Probably most, if not all of them, could be seen to-day within a few hundred yards of the site. Neighbouring palm-trees will assuredly shelter several specimens of the reddish turtle-dove (Turtur Sharpii) and the blue rock-pigeon (Columba livia). On the rocky banks of the river the black and white kingfisher will almost certainly be found perched, and the general faithfulness to coloration and form in the painting will enable it to be recognised at once with a thrill of pleasure. The identification of the smaller black and white bird which is shown, almost in replica, on both walls is rendered difficult by the curious convention adopted for tail and wings. It appears to be a shrike (Lanius Nubicus or Lanius collurio). The wagtail, which it also suggests, is not a species which frequents thickets; but it is one of the commonest birds of Egypt, and this is in its favour. The small bird in the nest on the west wall is so damaged that it would be useless to give it a name.

A peculiarity of the birds, whether dove, pigeon, or shrike, which cannot be paralleled at any period in Egypt, is the curious cocking-up of the wing feathers when at rest, the curvilinear outline of the tail, and the triangular dark spot in the middle of the outer tail feathers of the dove and the shrike.¹ The first feature especially, as being both false to nature and unpleasing in effect, is surprising in an artist who in other respects has achieved such realistic successes.² If taken over from some peculiar style of drawing, provincial or otherwise, where is an influence likely to be found so strong as to introduce an unnatural feature like this into the work of an observant artist? There will not be lacking those who, recalling the partridges in a much earlier Minoan fresco dated to about 1500 B.C.,³ will be ready with the cliché "foreign influence." But the proper attitude, especially in an experimental period like this, is to rely on Egyptian traditions, seeing perhaps in these items new proof of the characteristic overshooting of nature at this period in attempts to be ultra-natural, the artist

^{&#}x27; In the ruined sub-scene of the local tomb of Huya (Davies, El Amarna, III, Pls. v-viii), which extends over two sides of the chamber and forms a partial parallel to the continuous character of our fresco, a bird is seen with a tail of the same curious outline as is adopted here. So also in Wreszinski, Atlas, I, sheet 395. The Geb goose in its later hieroglyphic form has similar upturned feathers. [See also above, p. 17.—Ed.]

The nearest parallel in nature would be found in some of the duck or swan tribe. This cocked-up wing, however, might be taken over slavishly from some picture of a bird preening its wing (cf. Evans, Palace of Minos, I, p. 275, g). Or can it be that birds kept in the court outside the room and reflected on its walls, had their wing feathers broken back to prevent their escape? But the unnatural tail would remain unexplained.

³ Evans, Palace of Minos, II, Frontispiece.

having prided himself on showing birds, not in their sleekest and most ordinary state, but with ruffled plumage and in disarray. The artist here is manifestly Egyptian; there is something unwonted, but nothing extraneous in his work. Some of the influences that had made him might have had distant roots, but he was probably quite unaware of their remoteness; they blended perfectly with his outlook. The real point of resemblance between his art and that of Crete was the freedom of both from the weight of a religious tradition heavily over-burdened with artifice and binding rules.

The Papyrus-Head.—The aigrette-like form of the umbel of the papyrus, which here so advantageously replaces the immemorial solid outline, is met with occasionally in Theban tombs just before the reign of Amenophis III (Nos. 90, 91, 226), but, owing doubtless to sloth, is rarely adopted even in post-revolution times.² The drooping sepals in our picture are unparalleled, though later pictures often show them a little loosened from the flower.³

The Niches.—Recesses of any sort are very rare in the walls of painted Theban tombs. In tomb 276 (probably previous to Thutmosis IV) on each side of the doorway to the inner room there is a little niche, pink inside and framed in pink with a white sill. Over it is a ritual prayer to Osiris for the wife or daughter of the owner, and her figure stands behind it. The niche, therefore, was meant to receive her statue or the offerings made to the god for her. In tomb 48 (under Amenophis III) three high but very shallow niches, apparently representing false doors, separate the episodes on a sculptured wall. One asymmetric one as well, high up above these, interrupts a design (of granaries), as in our picture. It appears to represent a window, in sympathy with a real window which cuts into the picture on the adjacent wall. A row of deeper niches is provided on both sides of the great second hall. So much for previous analogies.

Did the niches in the Green Room originate with the builder or with the artist, and if with the former, for what purpose did he insert them? It is important to notice that the adjoining room, which, as the thinner party-

Some other approximations to Minoan forms might be seen in the broad window of the "Green Room," the continuous character of the decoration (cf. especially the same partridge-frieze, which includes no human interest or predatory episodes so far as it is preserved), the realistic and extensive delineation of plant-life, and the framing-in of the picture by a series of coloured bands. These are recurrent features in a strongly marked national art; but nearly all of them, it may be noticed, could only be introduced into another land by those to whom Crete itself was familiar, indeed scarcely by any of these who were not artists or keen patrons of art.

^{*} So also on the almost contemporary bronze vase (Daressy, *Annales du Service*, II, p. 10). For a later occurrence see Davies, *Two Ramesside Tombs*, Pl. vii.

³ A similarity may be quoted from Cretan art, though it had apparently taken over the papyrus from Nilotic models (Evans, *Palace of Minos*, II, p. 477).

⁴ Davies, Tomb of Nakht, p. 17.

wall and the connecting doorway show, formed a suite with this, is also provided with similar niches, at any rate on the lower level, in the west, north and east walls. They are thus a peculiarity of this suite of two rooms. Such niches are neither found in any other room of this or other palaces, nor in the houses of the city. Only in the Eastern Village the living-rooms and bed-rooms are sometimes provided with niches, which are interpreted by the excavators as places for lamps. The niches in the Green Room, it may be said, though painted white inside, show no sign of wear, damp, or smoke. They are little likely, therefore, to have been intended to receive lamps, water-jars, or other objects, and, as they are not directly opposite one another, they could not have supported the ends of fowl-roosts or beams.

In striving to understand this feature, we must take into consideration the apparent purpose of this section of the palace. Most, or all, of the small rooms, on the west side at least, of the open court on to which the Green Room looks are decorated with scenes of fowl-life. This peculiar decoration suggests, either that the central space round which the little rooms are grouped contained a collection of wild-fowl, as the adjoining division on the west housed animals of various sorts, or that the rooms were actually fowl-pens. As the walls appear to have been rudely painted (except for the goose on Pl. XI) and on a large scale, this, though quixotic, is not quite ridiculous.⁴ We have the sculptured mangers of the animals in support.

I do not think that there is evidence whether there were paintings above the dado there.

^o See City of Akhenaten, I, p. 63. Niched walls are known in Mesopotamia (Rostovtzeff, History of the Ancient World, I, Pl. vii, 1).

³ The nearest contemporary analogy in Egypt to this arrangement of the niches is afforded by the brick boxes, or, more probably, surrounds, used in Egypt to protect trees from the exploring goat or to raise them to a greater height (Davies, El Amarna, I, Pl. xxxi; V, Pl. v; Vl, Pl. xx, and at Thebes in Tombs 23 and 254). It seems to me just worth consideration whether such constructions, though not evidenced, may not have existed in the garden outside or have been planned for it. Such brick walls might well even be painted with a decoration of reeds. In that case the artist reflected on the walls of the room what was to be seen outside. Or else, finding niches already set in the walls, he cleverly turned them to this account. The water-pools at the foot of the niches would then represent the surplus of the water used for the trees, trickling out of the lowest holes of the box.

^{*} An apparent confirmation of this is found in a relief in Florence (WRESZINSKI, Atlas, I, sheet 395), which is attributed to a tomb at el-'Amarneh, probably on the strength of the diverging rays of the sun crossing the picture. These rays do not end in hands, do not shine on a figure of the king, nor is the sun (which is lost) in any sky, apparently. Yet as the rays converge to a point at the top of the scene, they can scarcely be runnels of the fowl-pen which they cross, the more so as there is a deep pond in the centre into which the yard would drain. It seems to me that we are here in the post-Akhenaten period, both from the signs, the mention of Thott in the text, and the general style. If so, this is so far the only instance of the retention of the rays. The picture, which shows fowl of various sorts being fed in a yard adjoining a series of store-houses, with two images of the goddess of plenty, Renenwetet, on pedestals flanking a stela in the courtyard, looks like an actual picture of this part of our palace, and fowl-houses round a sunk pond to be definitely guaranteed by it. But the pens are not really shown, the apparent party-walls being, in fact, the pillars of a peristyle court in which the birds are enclosed. In this feature, however, it so far resembles our building, and it is noteworthy that three bases for objects of worship are found not far away

The windowed rooms on the east side, and, more certainly, those on the north side of the court, even if planned for the same end, seem to have been appropriated to other uses. The centre was occupied by a garden. The published plan of it seems to show posts at the four corners; so that there may have been here a trellised aviary for smaller birds, for whose better disport and display the garden was provided. That the garden or the birds were intended to afford a diverting sight is made plain by the unusually large window of the Green Room. Not only so, but a point of outlook seems to have been constructed on the opposite side also at the head of a short flight of steps, from which those who frequented that part of the palace could command the same view, since the portico is omitted on this side.' The Green Room would thus be a kind of arbour, screened from the southern sun by the colonnade outside.

On the whole, then, it seems probable that the builder had intended this room also for an aviary or dove-cot, and indeed it is only the Roman columbaria in the desert of Khargeh which present a similar appearance. The niches would be intended as nesting-places. But the purpose of the room had been entirely altered when the artist took it over and made it one of unique beauty. Why he preferred to adapt the niches to his design rather than fill them up is, however, not very clear.

It may be convenient that I should briefly record here what was done for this very valuable relic of mural art after its discovery by Mr. Newton, to whose self-restraint in leaving it uncleared for the time its comparatively happy fate is primarily due. The paintings, when seen by me in February, 1926, after their second excavation, were in a very bad state of preservation, less in respect of loss of colour, though this was much darkened by that kind of red rust which is apt to encrust the surface of the green pigment employed by later Egyptian artists, than in its lack of adhesion to the walls. The mud plaster on which the colour was directly laid had been so riddled by white ants that it consisted almost entirely of their excreta, and the film of colour adhered to the wall so lightly in parts that a touch would bring it down. Mr. C. K. Wilkinson had seen it on its first excavation in the spring of

on the other side of the animals' yard. It thus represents at least a similar building, and the design may be taken direct from the el-'Amarneh school of art; for it will be noticed that the tilted wing, which has been mentioned (p. 64) as a peculiar feature of the Green Room fresco, is used here. Moreover, the depiction of the rays shows that it represents a royal palace; for their use is justified in that case, whether the king is shown or not (Davies, El Amarna, I, Pl. xxv; II, Pl. xIII).

A similar stairway at the corresponding point at the south end of the passage appears to have had a like outlook (see p. 58).

³ A small area of the east wall, roughly corresponding to Pl. III, had been unearthed by Mr. Newton on the first day of his excavation of the Northern Palace in 1923. It was photographed and copied in line before being covered up again a few days later.

1925, tracing most of the west wall before its re-burial, and, by the careful removal of a part of the kingfisher which was on the point of falling, had saved that detail from loss. The painting had not been materially damaged by its burial and re-clearance. The left-hand portion of the west wall had at some time been badly damaged by fire, and the design here could only be secured by washing off the carbon. The right half, on the other hand, though very defective, retained its colours in a state not far removed from the original, save for a certain dulling and deepening of the greens. In five weeks of continuous labour my wife and I traced the whole of the east wall and copied in colour the painting on the west wall from end to end, sharing both tasks, as time was pressing.' Meanwhile the chamber had been roofed over, and, thanks to this precaution, the paintings survived to yet another season, so that at the close of the year we were able to make coloured copies of the best parts of the east wall also, and of the only valuable relics of the paintings in other rooms, besides details. The mischievous and lawless character of the local population left next to no hope for the further preservation of the paintings as they stood; that they had been left undestroyed for two years was sufficient cause for thankfulness. Accordingly, after some experiments had been made by Mr. Lucas for the Service des Antiquités, Mrs. Frankfort devoted all her talent and resolute industry to the task of removing the fragile remains from the walls. After gaining confidence and experience by practising on pieces of little or less importance, she last of all attacked the paintings of the Green Room. If the results are not quite all that one could wish, they are much more than could have been relied on; a few handfuls of painted flakes and mud might well have been all that a less skilful hand would have been left with. Instead of that, several large pieces 2 have been secured which, in spite of the inevitable discoloration, are a valuable gain. They may serve to show that the brush of the modern copyist, in seeking to reproduce one of the most remarkable creations of an ancient people, has not consciously added anything, and that even the modernity of the composition is all its own.

Other Mural Decorations.—Paintings seem to have been applied to all of the rooms round the garden court, and this is proved as well for the throne-room to the south of it, the transverse hypostyle hall outside that, parts of the narrow columnar hall and the passage leading to the two

By adding a copy of her half to mine, Mrs. Davies was able to complete a coloured facsimile of the whole west wall, which is now in the Metropolitan Museum in New York.

^{*} The largest of those allotted by the Service des Antiquités to the Egypt Exploration Society has been presented to the British Museum, where it is exhibited side by side with Mrs. Davies' original copy (Pl. III).

outlooks at the head of the stairways, the larger hypostyle hall, etc. Little remains of these paintings except the black dado (blue for the latter group), surmounted by a series of coloured bands (three blue and two red, separated by white) which framed in the picture on all four sides. In the throne-room and the hall outside a block-border of the usual type was added on the inside of this framework, and outside it, in the corners of the room, the black and white "tail-border," and a blue band, as commonly in Theban tombs.

As to the character of the pictures, they seem in part to have been scenes from nature, as in the Green Room. On the east wall of the narrow hypostyle hall, north of the doorway, there is preserved above the dado and border a lotus-pond, the black banks of which were studded with little plants, as in the great fresco (Pl. VII, A, c). A fragment of this design was also found on the south wall of the North-eastern Court, at the extreme east end. The pool here was intact when Mr. Newton found it, and he copied it in colour (Pl. VII, B), but it was destroyed soon afterwards. The only clue to the subject of the wall above this pool (in the hypostyle hall) lies in some fragments of a small vine-pattern, quite different from that on numerous pieces mixed with them, which show the large and coarse type employed on the ceilings. One would imagine that the ceiling gave way first, and that the fragments of the picture falling later on the mass perished from damp or were ruined by exposure where they stood. Otherwise the lack of remains of the scene would suggest that it was never proceeded with. Fragments found in the throne-room indicate a similar subject there; but these may have subsided into this room from the other side of the wall. A picture on another of its walls seems to have contained large figures, as pieces of bodies, bracelets, collars, jars on stands (Pl. XII, E), a uraeus, and an ornamented cushion were found there (the last one of doubtful provenance). Hence we may presume a group of the royal family such as is preserved from another palace.

The side of the flight of steps to the south of the transverse hypostyle hall was adorned with a series of jars of ointment on stands, alternating with bouquets (Pl. XII, H).² These would be the natural concomitant of festal scenes, and seem to have been adopted from them to form borders (e.g., of pavements), perhaps to be in harmony with such scenes on the adjacent walls. The north half of the east wall of the large hypostyle hall shows an exceptional dado. It is formed by a series of false doors (a red door framed by blue,

¹ Now in the Ashmolean, Oxford. See Davies, J.E.A., VII, Pl. II, and supra, p. 16, Fig. 12.

^{*} Cf. Petrie, Tell el Amarna, Pl. II.

white, yellow), separated by the plants of south and north alternately. Above this a band of chequers is visible, and then the feet of several large figures (Pl. XII, A). A yellow ground seems to have been adopted for most, if not all, the scenes in the palace. Mr. Newton was of opinion that the rooms opening on the garden court had grape-vine ceilings, and, as this is proved for the transverse hypostyle hall, and perhaps for the throne-room also, we may accept it, and ignore the possibility of the fragments having fallen into the rooms from the colonnade, which certainly had it.

Considerably more is preserved in the rooms that surround the garden. In the small chamber east of the Green Room, near the stairs, the painted pillar shows, above a dado, a pool and, growing out of this, a palisade of upright yellow rushes, with narrow green leaves springing from the stem and a white flowering head (or perhaps the rough unoutlined shape is a bird (Pl. XII, F).2 Three of the six rooms on the west side of the court retain traces of their paintings. On the south wall of the first on the north is the goose shown on Plate XI, preceded by duck and with cranes above it (the legs only preserved-Pl. X). The feet of the latter suggest a large coarseness of execution, but, as those of the goose too are clumsy, the feathering of the cranes here and elsewhere may have been as detailed and the pose as admirable as those of the fat goose. If this was really a fowl-house, the time and taste employed upon its decoration shows how much disinterested artistic zeal filled the hearts of the craftsmen of Akhetaten. The other side of the same wall in the next room has only left us traces of cranes. In the corner of the last room near the stairs a fragment is preserved (Pl. XII, B), showing relics of pigeons, and the jars of water or grain provided for them, framed in glaring bands of colour. The outside (i.e. southern face) of the south wall of the room adjacent to the Green Room on the west retained a few fragments of a scene in which a crane could be identified. Sufficient traces remained to show that the north, east and west wall surfaces facing the garden, as well as all the inside walls of the rooms on the east side of the Court, were painted with the red and blue frame, and therefore presumably with similar scenes. The ground of all these scenes is a deep yellow ochre, dotted with the red grain and with the white or grey feathers which have fallen from the birds, thus strongly supporting the theory that these rooms were used as fowl-houses.

Indicated by fragmentary lines, and not shown in the plate.

[•] The provision of a pillar in this little room indicates that the walk on the roof, to which the stairs close by ascend, ran over the room eastwards, and then southwards, to the other stairway in the court. Eight feet was probably the limit of span for ceiling beams under a second story of roof-walk, and ten feet for any roofed space. Hence the narrowness of the rooms in this court and elsewhere.

The depiction of a lotus-pond is also proved for the south-east corner of the colonnade outside the animals' enclosure (Pl. XII, c).

Hence from the sparse remains we may conclude that in this palace generally the living-rooms and their surroundings, and perhaps even the pens of the birds and the byres of the animals, were provided with mural paintings, and that the subjects in rooms more or less connected with open spaces were out-of-door scenes, if not vegetation and birds merely. And, as the only one of these treasures of the imagination and the brush to survive in any completeness is so unique in form, it would be too much to infer that those lost were all as stereotyped as the few remains would indicate.

¹ The example of Tomb 162 at Thebes, where a lotus-pool is the sub-scene to a picture of outdoor life, shows that marsh-scenes do not necessarily surmount it.



INDEX

| PAGE | PAGE |
|---|--|
| Abydos 29, 55 | House and tomb painting . 1 f., 38 ff., 43 |
| Akhenaten 23, 27 ff., 33, 34, 43, 61 | " of Nakht 34, 54, 56 |
| Akhetaten 32, 34, 35, 70 | ,, of Puyemre ^r |
| Amenhotep (Amenophis) III . 8, 15, 24 ff., | ,, or Karmose 48, 54, 55 |
| 39, 65 | ,, of Ra'nûfer |
| Amenophis (see Amenhotep) | ,, R. 44. I |
| Argolid | ,, R. 44. I |
| Asiatic art 18, 20, 21, 22 | ,, V. 37. 1 |
| Assuan 29, 43 | Hyksos Period 18, 21 |
| | , |
| Background 13, 62 | Ibshay 20 |
| Balawat | |
| Balawat | Kadesh |
| Beni Hassan | Vornals |
| Birds in "Green Room" 17, 60, 64 | Karnak |
| " in other rooms 70 | Khargeh 66 |
| Block pattern 2, 40 ff., 47, 51, 53 ff., 59, 60, 70 | Khian |
| 2, 40 m, 47, 51, 53 m, 59, 60, 70 | Knossos 18, 19, 23, 24, 25 |
| "Cavalier perspective" 14, 18, 26, 28 | |
| Ceiling decoration | Lahun |
| Central Hall | Landscape in el-'Amarneh art . 13, 27, 62 |
| Central Hall | " in Aegean art 23, 26 |
| Coffins, decoration on 40, 45, 49 | ,, in Aegean art 23, 26 Loggia |
| Colossi of Akhenaten 28 | |
| Colours | Maruaten |
| Column, decorated | Medinet Habu |
| Cretan art 4, 18 ff., 64, 65 | Meir |
| | |
| Deir el Medineh 32 | Meritaten |
| Deshasheh | Mycenae |
| Doorways 50, 51, 53 f., 60 | Mycenae |
| Doorways | |
| | Naramsin |
| False doors | Nefertiti |
| Floors | Niches in houses |
| Flowers and fruit in garlands 42 ff. | " in "Green Room" 61,65 |
| "Flying gallop" 22, 25, 27 | " in tomb paintings 65 |
| Friezes | |
| | Olive in decoration |
| Garlands | -5, +5 |
| Grapes as decoration 43, 48, 70 | Phylakopi 20. 21 |
| 43, 40, 70 | Phylakopi |
| Hagia Triada 18, 19, 22 | 2 300-27, |
| Horembels | Oueen Aahhotpe's axe |
| Horemheb | Queen Admorpe's axe |
| 7.3 | L |

INDEX

| | | | | | 70.4 | cov. | | | | | | | | PAG | C IF |
|-----------------|------|---------|-----|--------|--------|-------|--------|-----|-------------|------|-----|-------|--------|------|------|
| | | | | | PA. | Li E | | | | | | | | | |
| Ramesside art. | | | | 14, 26 | , 30, | 63 | Tomb | of | Khaemhat | | | | 8 | , 9, | 13 |
| Religious motiv | es . | | | . 40 | , 50, | 55 | 11 | >> | Mahu . | | | | 5 | , 6, | 11 |
| | | | | | | | 3.5 | 11 | Nakht . | | | | | 17, | 65 |
| Saqqarah | | | | | | 40 | ,, | 21 | Nebamûn. | | | | | | 6 |
| Senbi | | | | | | 7 | 7.1 | 7.7 | Parennefer | | | | 9, | 10, | 17 |
| Sesostris II . | | | | | | 32 | ** | ,, | Puyemre' . | | | | | | 55 |
| Seti I | | | | | 32, | 55 | ,, | ,, | Tutankham | un . | | 14 | , 26, | 45, | 47 |
| Stone, use of . | | | | 32, 51 | , 54, | 57 | ,, | 22 | Tutu . | | | | | 13, | 14 |
| Swags | | | | | . 48 | B ff. | Torus | an | d Cavetto . | | | 42, | 51, | 52, | 55 |
| _ | | | | | | | Tuthm | osi | s III . | | | | | | 55 |
| Thebes | | 27, 28, | 33, | 39, 43 | 3, 62, | 65 | | | | | | | | | |
| Thutmosis IV | | | | 6, 7 | 7, 29, | 65 | Vaphic |) | | | | | | | 19 |
| Tiryns | | | | 18, 21 | 1, 24, | 25 | Vine-p | att | ern | | | 2 | , 43, | 69, | 70 |
| Tomb of Apy. | | | | | | 41 | | | | | | | | | |
| ,, ,, Ḥaren | nḥab | | | | 2, 6, | 17 | Windo | ws | | | 36, | 52, 5 | 5 ff., | 60, | 65 |
| " " Huya | | | | | | 64 | | | | | | | | | |
| " " Kenai | | | | | | | Zoser | | | | | | | | 40 |
| | | | | | | | | | | | | | | | |

PLATES



PLATE II

"GREEN ROOM," EAST WALL. Scale 1:7

Drawn by N. de Garis Davies
(See also Plates III, VII, VIII)

ERRATUM.
PLATE II. For N. read Nina

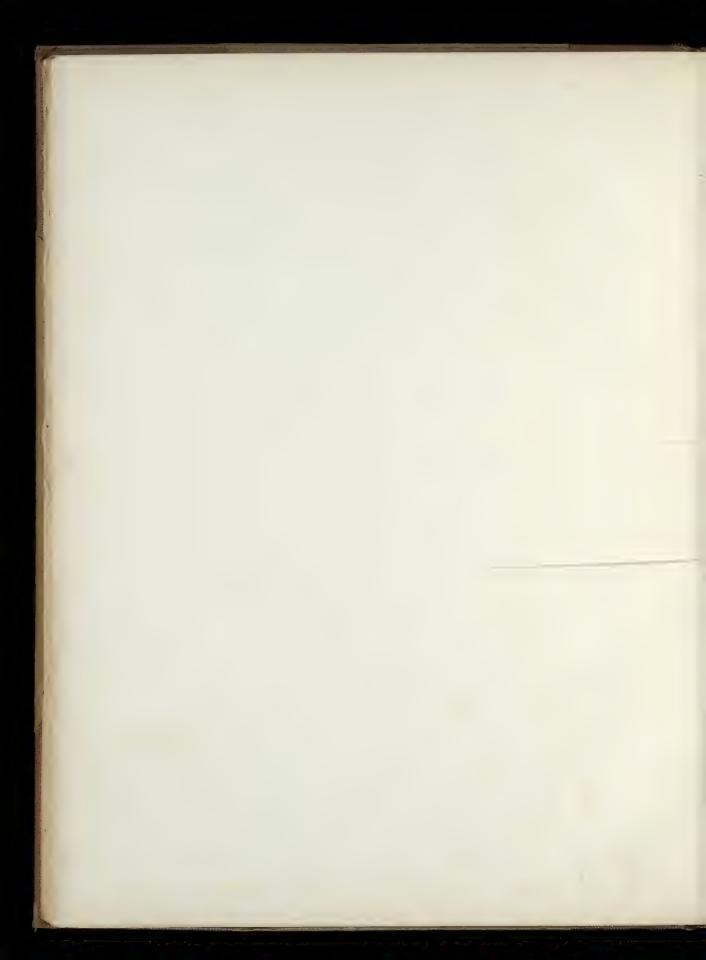
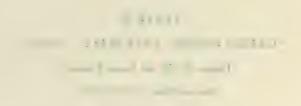


PLATE II

"GREEN ROOM," EAST WALL. Scale 1:7

Drawn by N. de Garis Davies

(See also Plates III, VII, VIII)



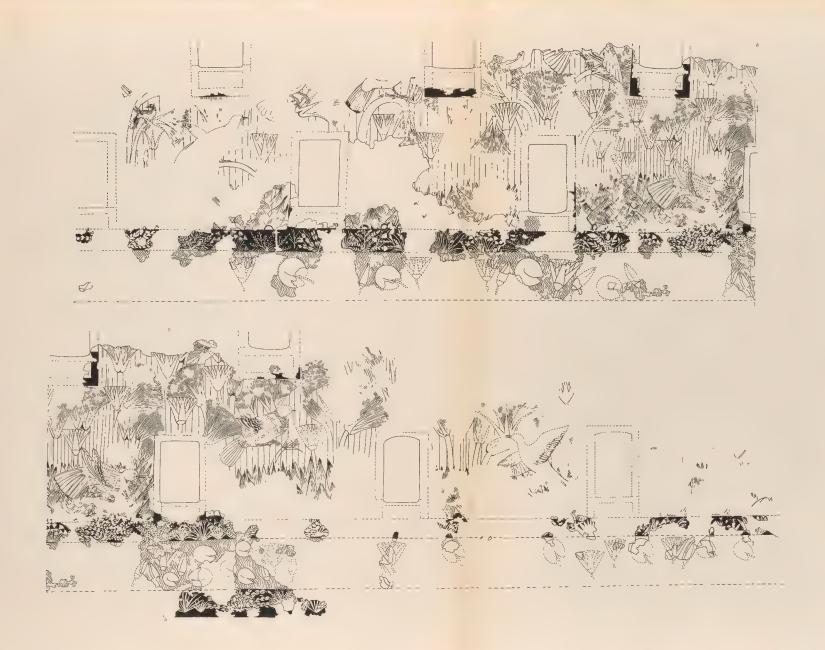




PLATE III

TWO DOVES IN THE PAPYRUS GROWTH DETAIL FROM PLATE II. Scale 2:7

Painted by Nina de G. Davies



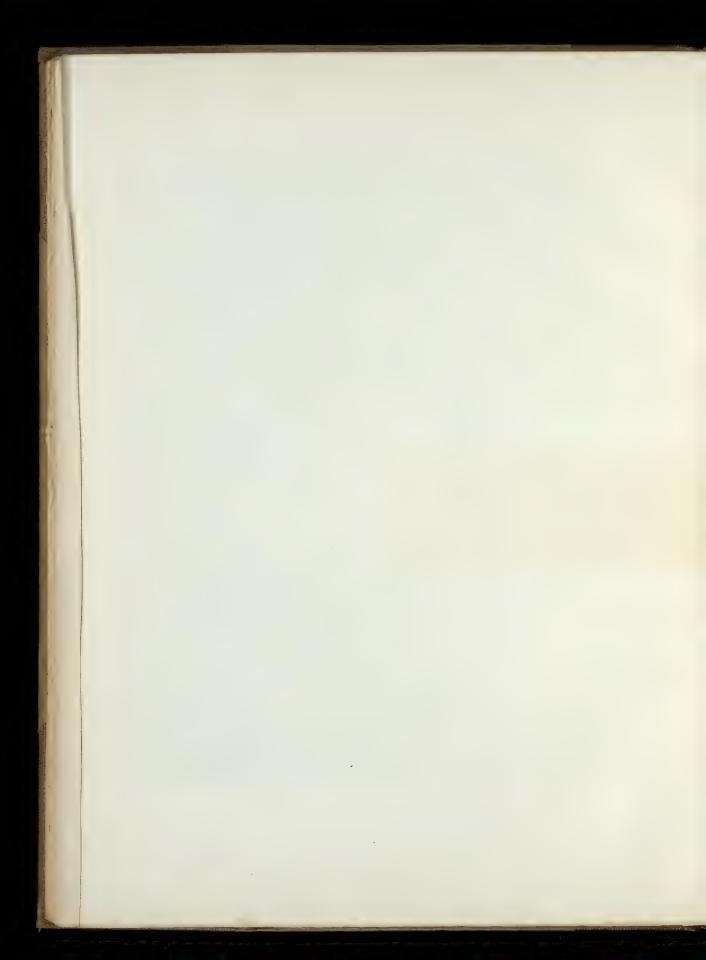


PLATE IV $\mbox{``GREEN ROOM,''} \mbox{ WEST WALL. Scale 1:7}$

Drawn by N. de G. Davies
(See also Plates V, VI)

ERRATUM.
PLATE IV. For N. read Nina



PLATE IV "GREEN ROOM," WEST WALL. Scale 1:7

Drawn by N. de G. Davies
(See also Plates V, VI)

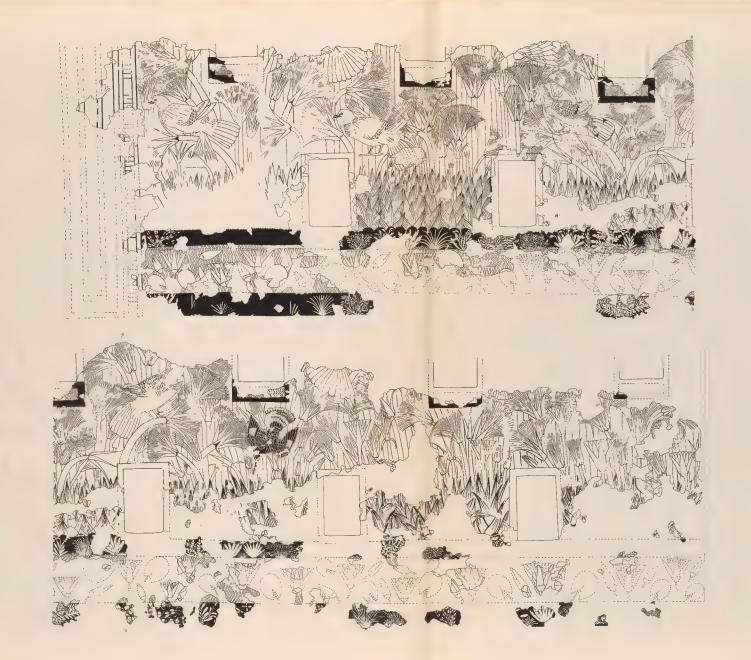




PLATE V

PIGEONS AND SHRIKE, DETAIL FROM PLATE IV.

Scale 2:7

Painted by Nina de G. Davies





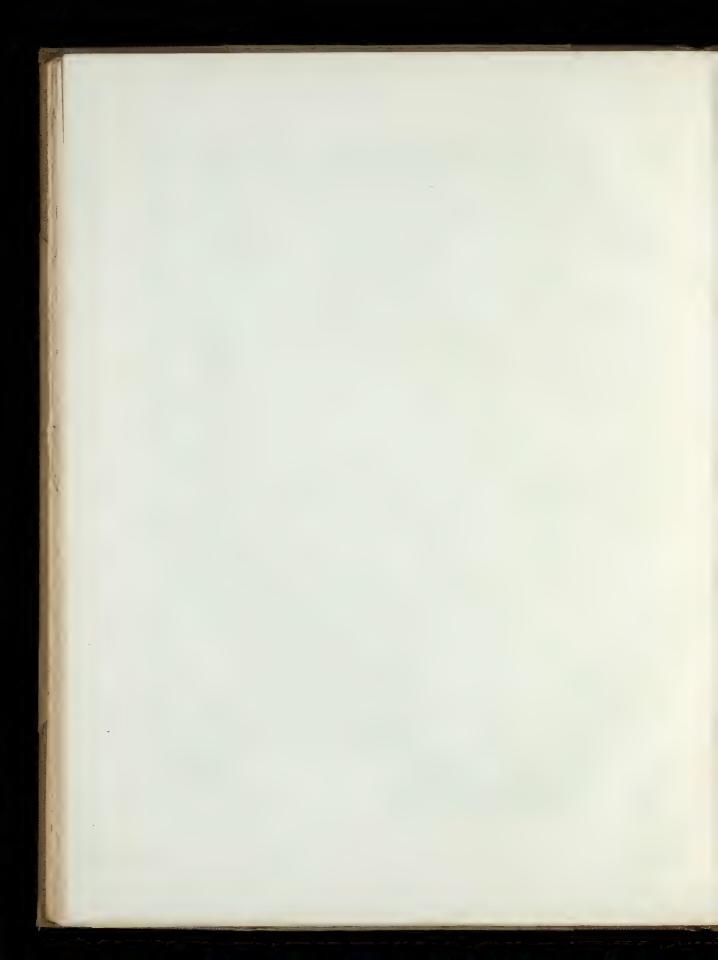


PLATE VI

KINGFISHER AND DOVES. DETAIL FROM
PLATE IV. Scale 2:7

Painted by Nina de G. Davies



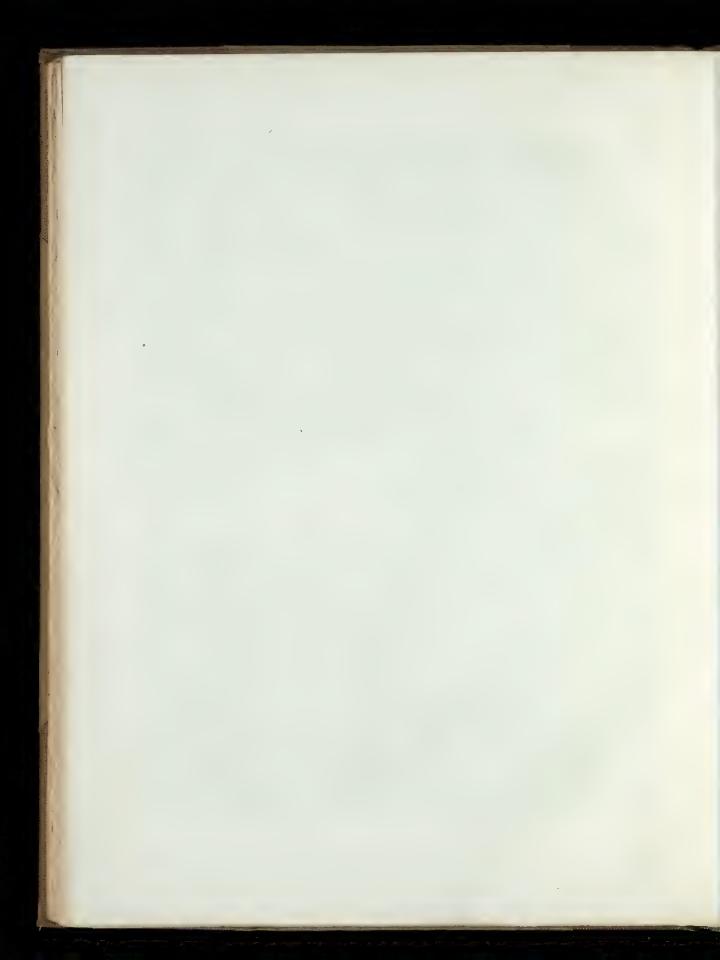


PLATE VII

THREE BORDER FRAGMENTS

A. AND C. DETAILS FROM PLATE II. Scale 1:2

Painted by Nina de G. Davies

B. EAST HALF OF SOUTH WALL OF NORTH-EASTERN COURT. Scale 1:4

Painted by F. G. Newton





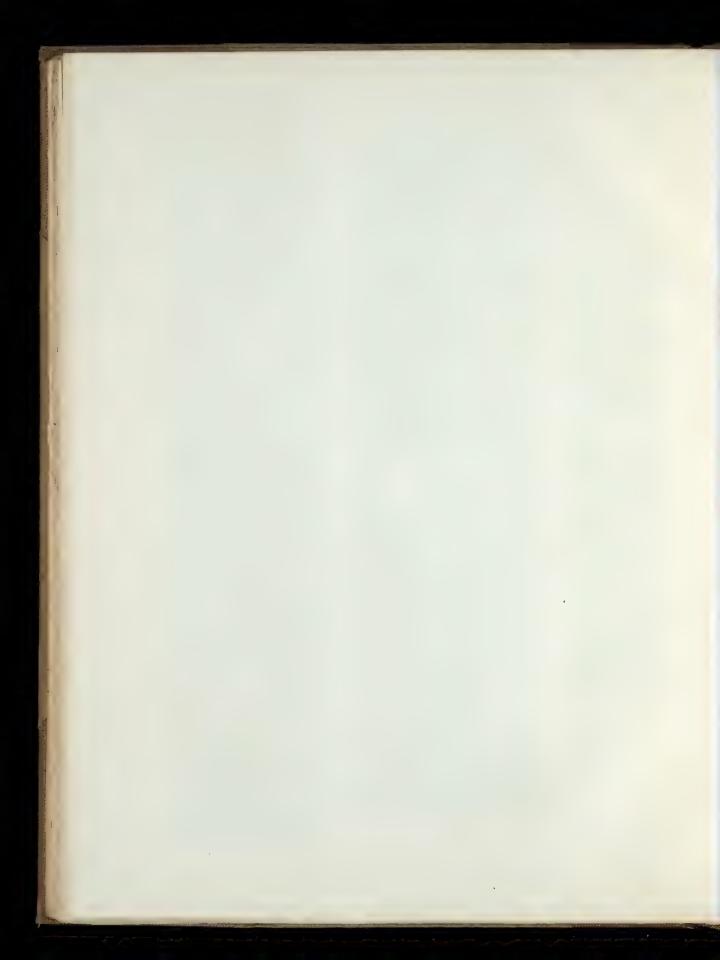


PLATE VIII

A. KINGFISHER. DETAIL FROM PLATE IV. Scale 1:3
B. DOVE. DETAIL FROM PLATE II. Scale 1:4

Arra in the life

art Arra La Acado (El alteroy), Arra Arra Electroy, Arra Arra Electroy, Arra Arra Electroy, Arra Arra Electroy







PLATE IX

A. VINE-LEAVES B. SHRIKE, FRAGMENT FROM PLATE II C. OLIVE. Scale 1:1

Painted by Nina de G. Davies









PLATE X

ATTENDANTS FEEDING GEESE. FRAGMENTS FROM WEST ROOMS OF NORTH-EASTERN COURT OF NORTHERN PALACE. Scale 2:15

From paintings by F. G. Newton

(See also Plate XI and Plate XIV)

1 1 1 11





PLATE XI

GOOSE. DETAIL FROM PLATE X. Scale 2:5

Painted by N. de Garis Davies





PLATE XII

MISCELLANEOUS FRAGMENTS FROM THE NORTHERN

PALACE. Scale A, 1:4; B-H, 1:8

Drawn by Nina de G. Davies

- A. Heraldic border from north end of east wall of Large Hypostyle Hall.
- B. Corner of panel from west wall of south room on west side of North-eastern Court.
- c. Design from south-west corner of colonnade in front of Cattle's Quarters.
- " pillar of large south-eastern hall (Vineyard?).
- Throne Room.
- nill, pillar in north-eastern corner-room of North-eastern Court. F.
- south end of west wall of Southern Passage.
- G. n south end of west wall of Southern Passage.

 H. n flight of steps to the south of Transverse Hypostyle Hall.

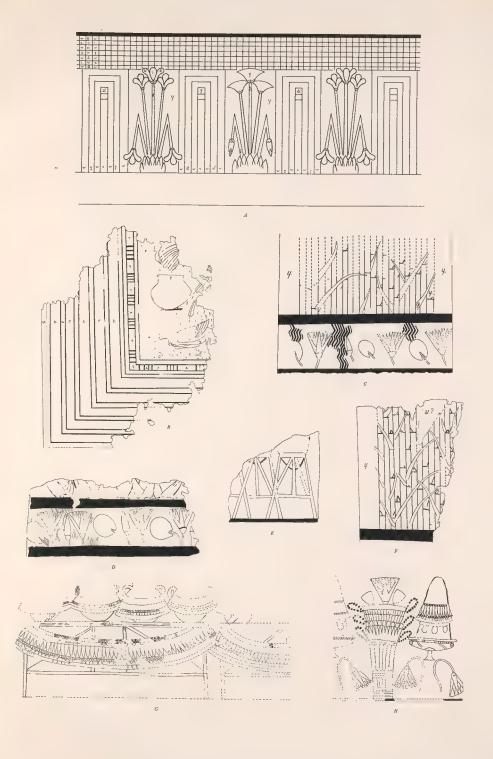




PLATE XIII PAINTINGS FROM THE PALACE OF AMENHOTEP III

(By the courtesy of Mr. Herbert E. Winlock and the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York)

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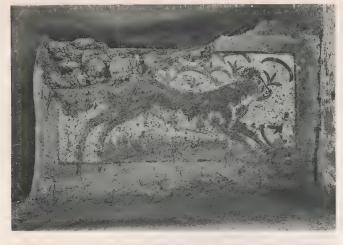


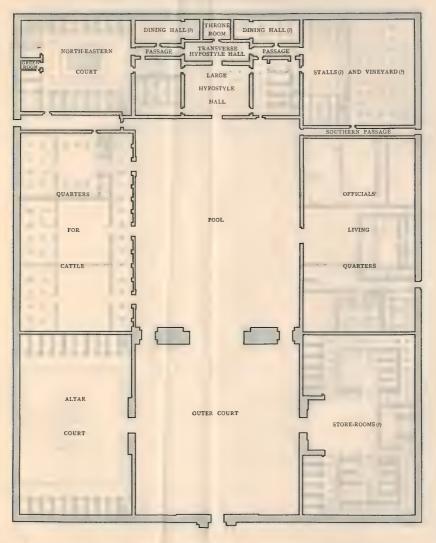






PLATE XIV

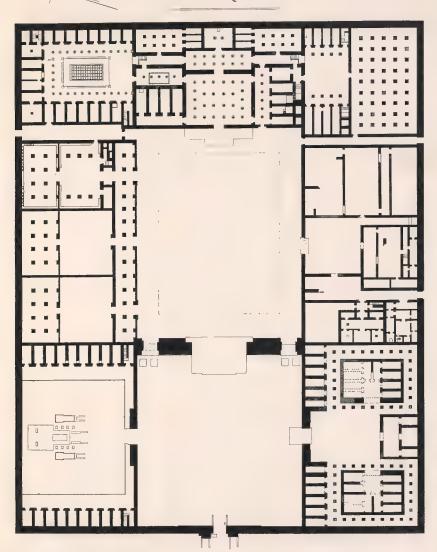
KEY TO PLAN OF THE NORTHERN PALACE





PLAN OF THE NORTHERN PALACE—

CITY OF AKHENATEN



- --- DCALE ----

8 Clark Dec: 1924.



PLATE XV

DETAILS OF FLOWERS, FRUITS, AND LEAVES IN FAYENCE AND MURAL DECORATION

- 1, 2, 5, 6. Poppy petals; 3, 4. Complete poppy flowers.
- 7. Lotus petal; 8. Palm-branch (?); 9. Leaf.
- 15, 18. Stylized representations of cornflowers from wall-paintings.
- 17, 19, 20. Cornflowers: 16. Petals (?).

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in

ERRATUM.

PLATE XV. No. 6 should read "date," not "poppy petal."



PLATE XV

DETAILS OF FLOWERS, FRUITS, AND LEAVES IN FAYENCE AND MURAL DECORATION

- 1, 2, 5, 6. Poppy petals; 3, 4. Complete poppy flowers.
- 7. Lotus petal; 8. Palm-branch (?); 9. Leaf.
- 15, 18. Stylized representations of cornflowers from wall-paintings.
- 17, 19, 20. Cornflowers; 16. Petals (?).
- 10. Representation of mandrake fruit spaced out on a background of woody nightshade berries, from a wall-painting.
- 11, 13, 14. Mandrake fruit; 12. The same of gold inlaid with glass. Except where otherwise stated these examples are all of fayence, and are in the British Museum.

Scale 2:1. Examples from wall-paintings 1:1.

References by letters to colour as follows:-

B = Blue, G = Green, R = Red, W = White, Y = Yellow.



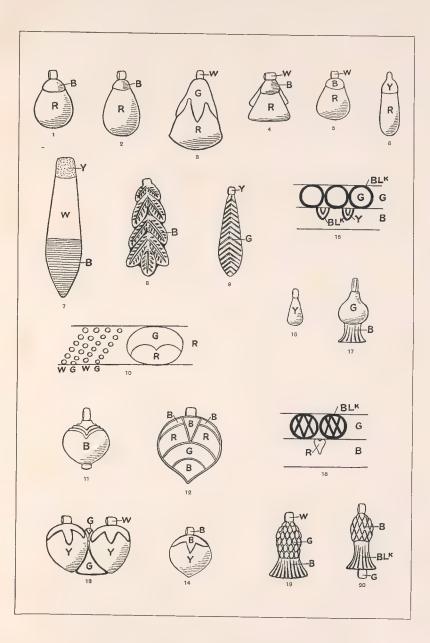




PLATE XVI

GARLAND DESIGNS ON MUMMY CASES IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM

- A. B.M. 54350, Thirteenth to Seventeenth Dynasties:

 Necklace of tubular beads and drop pendants; no garland.
- B. B.M. 29580, Middle Eighteenth Dynasty:

 Necklace of tubular beads, and garland of lotus and poppy petals.
- C. B.M. 54521, Middle Eighteenth Dynasty: Necklace of tubular beads and drop pendants, and garland of lotus petals.
- D. B.M. 22912 (Mask), late Eighteenth Dynasty:

 Necklace of tubular beads (highly stylized), and detailed garland
 of lotus and poppy petals, and of cornflowers.

- - 11 dr = 2 and 11 (1)
- -- 10 J -- V min -- 1





PLATE XVII

DUCKS ATTACHED TO GARLAND, FROM THE ENTRANCE LOBBY OF HOUSE V. 37. 1. Scale 4:7

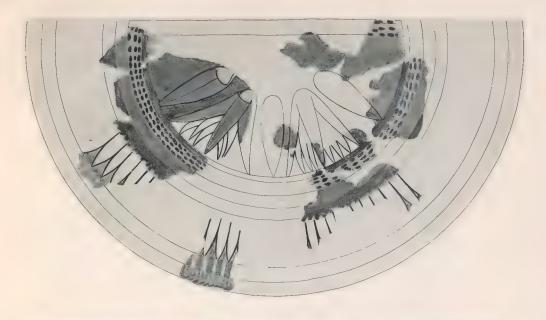
Painted by Nina de G. Davies Restoration in light tints THE OWNER.

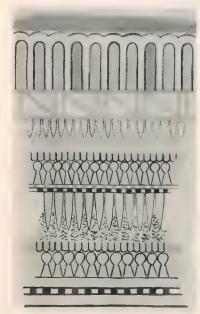




PLATE XVIII

- A. FRAGMENTS OF GARLAND FROM LOBBY OF HOUSE V. 37. 1, SHOWING CENTRE DESIGN. Scale 2:5
 - B. FRIEZE DESIGN FROM THE OFFICIAL RESIDENCE OF PNEHSY. Scale 3:7
 - C. RECONSTRUCTION OF HALF A GARLAND FROM HOUSE R. 44. 2. Scale 1:5





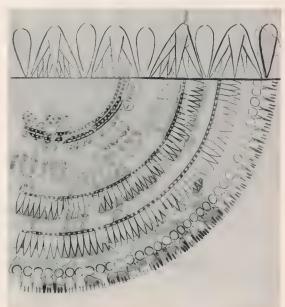




PLATE XIX

RECONSTRUCTION OF GARLAND AND DUCKS FROM NORTH LOGGIA OF HOUSE V.37.1. Scale 1:3

Painted by S. R. K. Glanville Restoration in light tints

1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 - 1 -1-00-0 THE RESERVE AND ADDRESS OF THE PERSON NAMED IN COLUMN TWO ---





PLATE XX

RECONSTRUCTED GARLAND AND DUCKS FROM THE HOUSE OF RAYNÛFER. Scale 1:15

After paintings by F. G. Newton



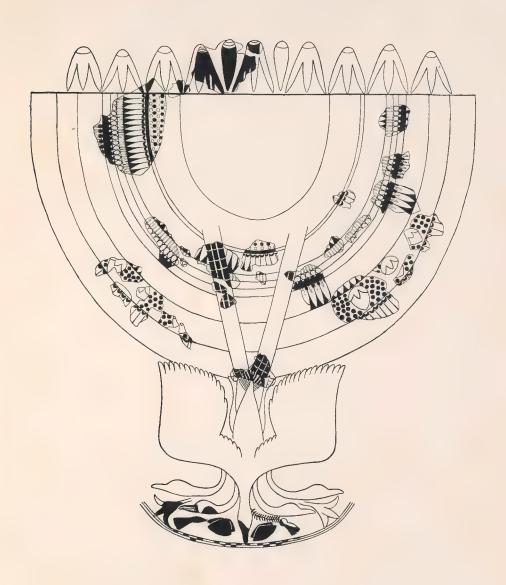




PLATE XXI

SECTION OF FALSE WINDOW FRIEZE FROM NORTH LOGGIA OF HOUSE V.37.1. Scale 5:12

From painting by S. R. K. Glanville

ERRATUM,

PLATE XXI. The narrow light strip near the bottom of the design should receive a black and white block pattern, so as to correspond to the group of block patterns over the grille.

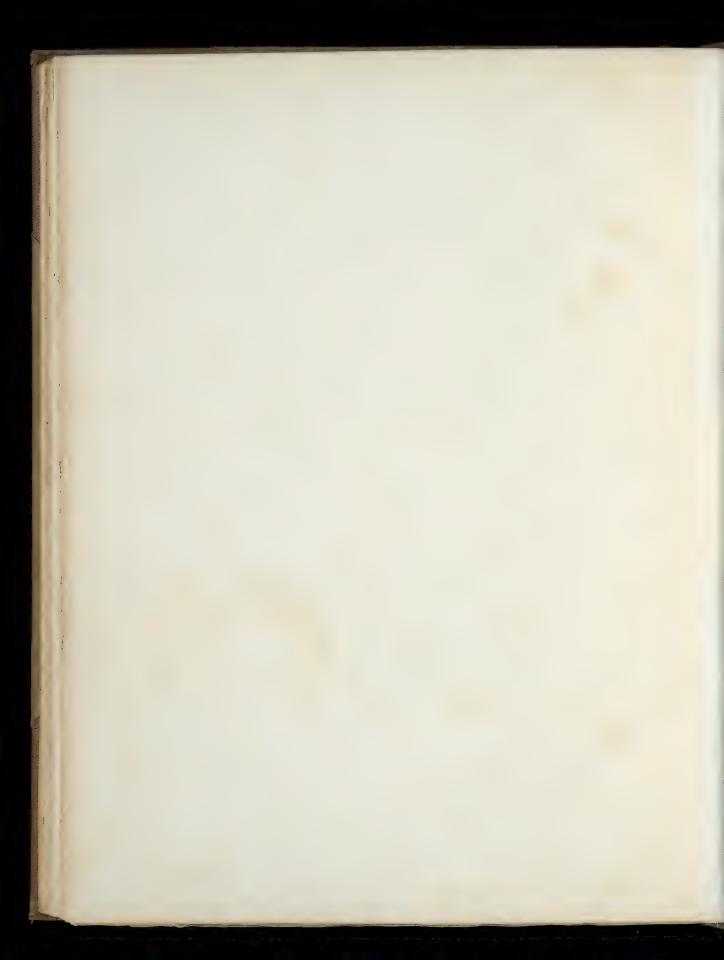


PLATE XXI

SECTION OF FALSE WINDOW FRIEZE FROM NORTH LOGGIA OF HOUSE V.37.1. Scale 5:12

From painting by S. R. K. Glanville

THE REAL PROPERTY.

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